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EDITORIAL

Important Note:

We regret that some of our subscribers should have found difficulty during the last two months, owing to the strike in a department of the publishing trade, in obtaining their copies of Theology. Any who continue to experience this difficulty are requested to communicate directly with the publishers (The Secretaries, S.P.C.K., Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C. 2) and to give the name of their bookseller.

When the history of post-war reconstruction in English life comes to be written, to none will a warmer recognition be due than to the present Archbishop of Canterbury; and in his little volume entitled *Occasions** we have the reason. These "Sermons and Addresses delivered on Days of Interest in the Life of Church or Nation" are concerned with many of the most inspiring memories and movements of our time; and in each case the Archbishop has seized and set forth its primary spiritual significance, and used it to kindle afresh the fire of Christian hope and resolve. A royal wedding, national anniversaries, the Empire and the League of Nations, our law, our literature, our religion so old and yet so new—all these the Archbishop has interpreted to us as moments of solemn and individual import in the history of God's dealings with mankind and the Church. Ripe in experience, and yet for ever young; seeing life steadily and whole, and yet perennially hopeful; amazingly versatile in the range of his interests and knowledge, and yet speaking with the diffidence and humility which are the surest token of true learning—he commands, as few men have in our history, the attention of thoughtful men throughout the world.

Let two examples suffice. Here are two of the great Elizabethan poets set in vivid relief in a few words:

Edmund Spenser had revealed to English ears in noble imagery the music, the grace, the versatility of the English tongue. But his verse

* A. R. Mowbray and Co., 1925. 5s. net.

never lost the artificial, the sentimental form. Shakespeare took the same weapon, and threw himself frankly on human life as it is. He cleared it boldly from the veil of mist. He gave us men and women as they are.

And here, again, is the passage on preaching which created such a stir last October, but in its full context is so obviously salutary and true:

It can easily be described as intolerable that we clergy, to whom responsibility is given, should leave it to the daily newspaper or the popular novelist to give guidance and to suggest sturdy thought. I am glad they do suggest and supply it, but where are we who have been accredited to the duty? The taunt, whether sad or scornful, is quite easy. But it is not altogether fair. I have no doubt at all that the average preaching to-day is less thoughtful, less painstaking than it was in our fathers' days. And for mending the lack we need more midnight oil, or, what is better, more forenoon hours with closed doors, steady if miscellaneous study, and big notebooks.

And on the basis of this criticism and advice, the Archbishop can frame a rejoinder—brief, and yet complete—to the strictures of an essayist in the *Quarterly Review*:

The *Quarterly* Reviewer whom I have already quoted says quite dogmatically: "The Church to-day counts for very much less in English life than it did a generation ago." Is that so? I wonder. There is plenty to be said upon the other side. I do not find it so easy to draw the comparison with confidence, and I think, from what is said, that the verdict is in this case pronounced by some one whose experience is shorter than my own.

A book similar in many ways to the Archbishop's comes from the pen of the Bishop of Winchester. *Great Tasks and Great Inspiration** is, like *Occasions*, a collection of addresses given at various times during recent years; and the ranges of subjects compassed by the two series—the nation and the League of Nations, India, the unity of Christendom, literature and art—often overlap. The Bishop speaks and writes as one who is pledged "evermore to be ready to spread abroad God's Gospel"; and the Stockholm Conference and C.O.P.E.C., the Kingsley centenary at Eversley, and, not least, his own Cathedral Church at Winchester, are some of the occasions which have called for this pledge to be redeemed. How generously that has been done let each reader judge for himself. Quotation rich and apt—witness the sermon in commemoration of the connection between the City of London and India, May 26, 1924, or that on "The Kingdom of God in Art and Letters" delivered at St. Martin's, Leicester—a clear, vigorous style, and throughout all the reverberant faith and purpose of the writer, make this book an inspiration to read and the tasks it speaks of a joy to attempt.

* Nisbet, 1926. 5s. net.

THE SERVANT POEMS IN THE DEUTERO-ISAIAH*

BEFORE we pass to the last verse and the conclusion of the poem, it may be well to examine some of the suggestions which have been made for altering the text. I cannot agree with the writer who says that these verses (10 and 11)† "are justly regarded by many scholars as almost incurably corrupt." If we do not approach the problem with a desire to make it conform to any preconceived plan, the verses present no insuperable difficulties. The LXX, it is true, preserve different readings, but it is notorious that the LXX in Isaiah are untrustworthy witnesses. And certainly they betray themselves at the beginning of verse 10, where they translate:

"Jehovah was pleased to purify him from the plague."

This is demonstrably incorrect. The LXX translate the word דַּכְּאוֹ *purify*, whereas it refers back to מְדֻכָּא in verse 5, where the Servant is described as crushed; "from the plague" does not presuppose a change of a letter in the Hebrew, but was forced upon the LXX translators by necessity. The Hebrew is an asyndetic perfect meaning "making him sick," as R.V. rightly translates. But when the LXX had falsely translated a Hebrew word as though it were Aramaic, they were forced to the statement that Jehovah had purified him from something, and so they inserted a preposition and translated a verb as a noun !‡

In verse 11 the LXX have the interesting variant, "And it pleased the Lord to deliver (him) from the travail of his soul: to cause him to see light, and to form with understanding": but this can easily be accounted for as a misunderstanding of the Hebrew.

Verse 12:

> "Therefore will I divide him a portion with the many,
> And he shall divide the spoil with the strong:
> Because he poured out his soul unto death,
> And was numbered with the transgressors;
> Whereas *he* bare the sin of many,
> And maketh intercession for the transgressors."

* This is the concluding section of three lectures delivered to the Central Society of Sacred Study in Oxford in July, 1925, and is concerned with Isa. lii. 13-liii. The previous sections were published in November and December, 1925, and January, 1926.

† Peake, p. 58, and Ottley's *Isaiah in loc.*

‡ The statement that "'Jahweh was pleased to purify him'... can be got out of the present text" requires us to believe that the poet first used a word in a Hebrew and then in an Aramaic sense.

Jehovah himself explains the reason of the Servant's coming exaltation. He will receive the rewards of a great conqueror because he gave up his life in obedience to God's command. This last verse lays bare a characteristic of the Servant for which we are hardly prepared. The meek and afflicted Servant acts as King and Priest, taking his place as one of the world conquerors, and receiving the spoil of the vanquished, and at the same time pleading on behalf of his people. It is precisely at this point that the prophet takes up and joins his inspired figure to the earlier conceptions of Jehovah's Messiah. In his hands the older conception of a monarch, Jehovah's vicegerent on earth, is subordinated to the lowly unpromising Servant full of moral strength and beauty, but outwardly unprepossessing.

Skinner has said* the question is "whether the prophet took up the traditional figure of the Messianic king, and introduced into it features which transformed its character; or whether, starting from fresh premises, he created a new ideal which was to replace that of the Messianic king as the organ of Jehovah's final purpose with Israel and mankind."

We have now approached the position from which we can attempt to form an opinion as to what was in the prophet's mind. Did he write of an actual sufferer or sufferers, or of an ideal; of past things, or of things to come? It is fairly generally allowed that the vindication of Jehovah's servant lies in the future, but that the sufferings lay in the past. If this view be correct, it would follow that the prophet's message to his contemporaries would be: An innocent prophet and servant of God has suffered: God will raise him from the dead and give him wide dominions, the spoil of nations; and because he died undeservedly, accept his intercession for sinners. If the nationalists are right, it would mean that Israel or an idealized section of Israel had symbolically died in exile, and that a national resurrection to power and glory was about to happen. It has been maintained by opponents of the Messianic interpretation that to assign the whole career of the Servant to the future, to place his sufferings and his death in the unknown future, is to give the lie to the whole tone and language of these passages. But this argument loses much of its force if we bear in mind two considerations.

The idea of undeserved suffering was not new. As we have seen, the life and words of Jeremiah were fresh in the minds of the godly exiles, and they certainly knew the traditional outlines of the life of Job. The problem which confronted the prophet, who meditated and prayed over the miseries of the world, the unworthiness and disobedience of Israel, the

* *Isaiah*, p. 278.

hopeless condition of the heathen sheep without a shepherd, was how to bring in the Kingdom of God whose advent had been prophesied many years before by Isaiah. And out of the depth of his yearning over the plight of his people, out of his meditation over the spiritual conflict and bodily miseries of Jeremiah, out of his sympathy and admiration for the steadfastness of the godly Gentile Job, there grew up under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit this vision of one without any worldly advantages whatever; one sad product of an arid soil, who by faithfulness to the glorious ideal of the evangelization of the world should die and rise again to both temporal and spiritual glory.

It would be idle to speculate as to when he expected this Interceding Martyr to appear. He gives no indication whatever. He is free from the self-intoxicating optimism of the Deutero-Isaiah. For him there is no desert blossoming with luxuriant shrubs, but the hard path of suffering, death, contrition, and penitence. Let us imagine, if we can, the motive power of prophecy in the human mind. All men of good will to-day yearn for the time when wars shall be no more. Modern Europeans seek to attain this ideal by practical measures—Leagues of Nations, committees, speeches, pamphlets, all the machinery of sober civilization being put in motion; only by a few is the project viewed as the Will of God, a religious duty, perhaps as a direct command. How different does an ideal appear to a Hebrew prophet of the first rank when he thinks of a revolution in world ethics! It is the voice of God. He sees the vision of the attained ideal, the consummation of his cherished hopes, as the creation of God. Difficulties fall before the obedient servant like the walls of Jericho before the hosts of Jehovah, and lo! the kingdom of God is among men.

Thus it is that the prophets spoke of the ideals which lay nearest to their hearts and to the mind of God. When they dealt with mundane matters like invasions, wars, and diplomatic missions, they were more precise, but always throwing their messages on to the background of divine principles of justice.

The language of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah certainly does imply at first sight that the suffering and sorrows of the Servant are over and his countrymen are left soliloquizing over his fate. On any interpretation the exaltation of the Servant lies in the future; and the whole question turns on whether the Servant's sufferings, described as having been undergone, also lie in the future. For my own part I firmly believe that this was the prophet's meaning: the suffering Servant had yet to come. The ideal life of God's Servant on so exalted a scale had yet to be manifested. The world's teacher had yet

to suffer and to die in humility and loving self-sacrifice. The considerations which weigh with me as against the arguments to the contrary are the impossibility of reconciling such aspirations with the state of Israel as it is revealed in post-exilic times. It is, to my mind, simply impossible that such a person as the Servant of Jehovah must have been, could ever have existed without leaving an indelible mark on the sacred literature of the Hebrews. Such a saint is hard to find in the annals of Christendom, and it is incredible that a prophet who found a place in the canon crowned with the expressed favour and special blessing of the God of Israel could have remained anonymous.

Again, though I hold the national theory untenable on other grounds, here it is impossible. The words of chapter liii. in the mouth of the Gentiles are frankly impossible. The condition of exilic and post-exilic Judaism all but forbids an interpretation favouring anything but a distant ideal of universal service. And there is always the peculiar phenomenon of Hebrew prophecy to be reckoned with—that characteristic of Hebrew prophecy which has given a name to its syntax—the prophetic perfect. Those events which the prophet desires to assert as certain to happen he declares to have happened already. The perfect tense is used again and again of events in the far-off future. It would, perhaps, be impossible to discover an exact parallel to the sustained past narration of this chapter, but given the established usage this objecton loses its force.

Before we pass to a consideration of the application of these prophecies to our Lord, we are bound to pay some attention to the various schools of interpretation, some of which have been alluded to above. There is an altogether admirable summary of these in Skinner,* and I must refer you to his essay for full details. Here I give a skeleton outline:

1. The nation of Israel.

   Objections: (*a*) See above. Could the Gentiles have seen in Israel a meek submissive unoffending sufferer?

   (*b*) If the resurrection of the Servant means the Restoration of Israel, which is *predicted* in lii. 15, the prophet projects himself into a future beyond it, and from that point describes the thoughts of the nations before it. How comes it, then, that liii. 10 speaks of the servant's *future* exaltation?

   (*c*) The prophets and the Deutero-Isaiah taught that Israel suffered for its own sin: not for the sins of the world. The latter doctrine is foreign to the Old Testament. Moreover, the Gentiles are also to receive the cup of wrath.

* P. 263, Appendix, note ii.

2. The ideal Israel.

   Objections: (*a*) Israel is then used in incompatible senses.
   (*b*) Unnatural for Israel to regard the ideal Israel as suffering for their sins.

3. The *spiritual* Israel.

   Objections: (*a*) But why did they suffer more severely than the rest?
   (*b*) How did they die and then come to life?

4. A Doctor of the Law between the Restoration and Ezra.

   Improbable.

5. *Jehoiachin.*

   Objections: (*a*) Jehoiachin is condemned as a wicked king.
   (*b*) No voluntary self-surrender.
   (*c*) No other characteristics agree with the *known* character of Jehoiachin.

6. An Adonis myth.

   Objections: (*a*) How could the dying Nature God be called the Servant of Jehovah?
   (*b*) Ethical value entirely different.

7. The future Messiah.

This was apparently the interpretation of the Jews until Christian polemic forced them to abandon it in favour of the national theory; though the latter had its advocates from an early time, as the LXX show. The Targum and both Talmuds see the Messiah in chapter liii., and there have always been Jewish writers who were convinced that this is the meaning of the prophecy. This is the theory which we have been advocating; but it is right to mention the objections which have been urged. In Skinner's words: "The Servant . . . has yet to appear, has to be misjudged, rejected, maltreated, and put to death by his countrymen; then the thoughts of his generation concerning him have to undergo a revolution (liii. 9); and only after all this has taken place can the people look for his resurrection and the deliverance from exile which he is to effect. . . . [Is it] credible that this should be the meaning of the prophet who penned the hasty summons to escape from Babylon (xlviii. 20, lii. 11, 12), and gives many another indication that he regards the deliverance as imminent?"

Our answer to this would be: (*a*) That it is not the object of the Servant of the Servant poems to deliver the people from

exile, but that this is the work of the Servant in the Deutero-Isaiah; and (*b*) that the prophet of the Restoration is not the author of our passages.

Although it is true that the Jews in pre-Christian times saw the future Messiah in the Suffering Servant, it is also true that they felt it a national duty to evangelize the heathen. The Book of Jonah, and perhaps Ruth, shows that the missionary spirit was active in post-exilic days, and there was from that time onwards a continuous missionary movement which resulted in an enormous monotheistic population in the first century. Certainly no less than 8 per cent.—*i.e.*, about one person in every twelve in the Roman Empire in the first century A.D., was a Jew by religion, and, of course, it is common knowledge that St. Paul's missionary activities were practically confined to the synagogal areas. Our Lord Himself testifies to the zeal of Scribes and Pharisees in making proselytes. We must therefore conclude that the nation, or a very considerable part of the nation, felt itself called to undertake the work for which the Servant had been set apart.

It is precisely here that the lines of interpretation tend to converge in the living reality of God's purpose. There is good reason for believing that the prophet's vision extended into the distant future, as many Jews a few centuries after His day actually thought. On the other hand, as we have seen, many hold that he spoke primarily of his own day, and of the evangelizing movement then begun which should sweep all before it. However this wonderful cycle of poems is to be explained, it is clear that it contains a message for the succeeding generations. The Jewish nation and the followers of the Jewish Messiah, when they have been true to its message, have been fruitful in spreading the knowledge of God throughout the world. The two views of the prophecy converge in the one ideal. From whatever angle we look at the sublime figure, all exegetes agree that he is ideal. Whether he be Jehoiachin, the Jewish nation, or the Son of Man from heaven, whether he be a real saint of the fifth century B.C. or the long-awaited Messiah, he is always an ideal creation, fully manifesting the noble qualities of endurance, patience, and love.

We have so far been thinking of the Servant poems from the point of view of their writer. Let us now examine them from the other end, from the point of view of Him who claimed to be their fulfilment. How and in what way are we to suppose that our Lord understood the prophet? If we believe, as I suppose we all believe, that He was truly man—that is, that He learned as man learns, that He studied and meditated—we must believe also that He looked for light and guidance in

what was then Holy Scripture. He was a true successor of the prophets in that He made the same claim, though in a higher degree, to pronounce the Will of God in the name of God. The voice of prophecy which had been stilled for centuries sounded for the last time in Israel. And that voice came to Him as to the prophets before Him from on high. At the very outset of His Mission, the first of the Servant passages claimed Him, "Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased" (Mark i. 11). *Now* He could begin to preach that the Kingdom of God was at hand. Reflection on the manner of the preaching of God's servant showed Him that high office in Church or State open to a man of His stupendous powers would be an obstacle to spiritual progress, and so He clung so closely to the Galilean background of people dwelling in outer darkness that many of His devoted followers seem to have been ignorant of a ministry in and around the capital. The same mystery overhangs the failure of the preaching of Jesus as that round the mission of the suffering Servant. We do not really know why the Servant was despitefully entreated of men, and we do not know exactly why the self-sacrificing love of Jesus should excite such bitter hatred among the people as well as their leaders. Yet it is quite clear that Jesus recognized long before the end actually came that the fate of the Servant must be His. And if the death then assuredly the Resurrection. The agonies of the Passion must have come to Jesus as one who saw the working of Divine prescience. The smiting, the spitting, the scourging, the mockery of judgment, and, last of all, the crucifixion were terrors mysteriously written aforetime and immutably decreed. Who can doubt that the agony of Gethsemane lay in this fifty-third chapter of Isaiah? Step by step through His life of unrequited affection and sacrifice He drew nearer to the inevitable fate of the Servant of Jehovah. Disappointment and the daily contempt of His nation's accredited religious teachers taught Him that there was no escape from the bitter path of sorrow and suffering: they were God's guarantee and assurance of His ultimate vindication and triumph. The Resurrection to Him was inevitable because it had been fore-ordained, predicted in Isaiah. And doubtless the same voice that proclaimed, "Thou art My beloved Son," also proclaimed, "Thou shalt prosper; be exalted and lifted up, and be very high."

I believe we may go one step further. Our Lord, as St. Luke has told us, explained to His disciples why it was necessary that the Christ should suffer before He was exalted: He expounded to them the sayings of the prophets on these subjects. Is it not natural to suppose that such teaching would take the form best adapted to the theological thought of the day?

Inasmuch as the picture of the Suffering Servant of Jehovah is the product of the greatest spiritual genius of the O.T., it was of necessity best fitted to sum up the life of the Son of Man. Our Lord undoubtedly regarded it as a divine prediction of His own life, and His interpretation of it may fairly be held to have influenced subsequent attempts to explain the reconciliation made between God and man through the suffering of the Messiah. But our Lord's exposition of "all the Scriptures" was not the only factor in the apostles' apologetic. As G. A. Smith says:* "As we enter the Gospel history from the O.T., we feel at once that Isaiah is in the air." In the *Magnificat*, the *Nunc Dimittis*, the opening verses of St. Mark's Gospel, in the preaching of John the Baptist, the influence of the Book of Isaiah is unmistakable. These are a few of the many indications that pious Jews felt themselves to be once more in the spiritual circumstances of the Exile. Everywhere there was a vivid expectation of a coming deliverer. Again and again the people had been visited by an impostor claiming to be the Christ. The population was in that nervous, highly strung condition which may at any time be felt in the Islamic world when talk of a Mahdi is in the air. The popular hope was naturally of a Saviour who would restore Palestine to its ancient greatness and place Israel's foot on the neck of its hated foes. Instead they were met by a Prophet whose healing power was admitted even by His enemies, but who refused to strive and to lift up His voice in defiance against the nation's enemies. The task of the Evangelist after the Resurrection was to convince the Jewish world that despite the contradiction of all their hopes the Messiah had come. Apart from their testimony to the Resurrection, there was only one way of proof open to them, and that was the demonstration that in the details of His career He had fulfilled the ancient prophecies. By this time Scripture was being interpreted in an allegorical way: texts were lifted out of their context and made to bear a meaning utterly different from the plain intent of their speaker. This method of interpretation was consecrated by the usage of the nation's rabbis, and every synagogue was familiar with it. And so we find the Evangelists, particularly St. Matthew, falling into line with the preaching of his day. Hosea's plain reference to the Exodus in ii. 15: "Out of Egypt have I called my son," is advanced by St. Matthew as an example of fulfilled prophecy, and he sees in our Lord's miracles of healing the realization of the Servant's function of bearing the sicknesses and carrying the pains of his people.

Exaggeration of truth does not destroy truth. The utmost

* *Isaiah*, p. 282.

it can do is to create a suspicion that where some exegesis is false all *may* be. Exaggeration inevitably brings the Nemesis of reaction, and at the present day much of St. Matthew's exegesis of the O.T. must be abandoned as contrary to historical criticism. Thus there is not a complete and detailed correspondence between the life of Christ and that of the Suffering Servant. The Servant suffered from sickness and a mysterious disease: there is no trace whatever of such weakness in our Lord. The Servant was buried among criminals, but our Lord received a most honourable burial in a friend's own rock-hewn tomb. " The rich in his death " can hardly refer to this.

The correspondence between the Servant and the Christ is in the fulfilment of one and the same ideal. The essential likeness is unmistakable. It is not miraculous because it is not accidental. If we are right in supposing that our Lord consciously moulded his conduct in conformity with the inspired figure of the Servant, we have a reasonable explanation of the phenomenon of fulfilled prophecy. It is not some mysterious forecast of the Will of God to be crushed out by the mills of God, despite man's opposition, in accordance with plan: it is rather an indication of the Will of God in which man is invited to co-operate. We have a good example at the present day of the extraordinary power of prophecy over the human mind in the return of the Jews to Palestine. The hope of a Return as prophesied in the O.T. is undoubtedly the motive behind the movement to place Jewish colonists in the Holy Land in the teeth of the opposition of its present inhabitants. The fulfilment of prophecy here is a conscious attempt to realize the Will of God as expressed in Scripture.

The Prophets launch a great ideal: the general meaning of it is plain to all those who submit themselves to the discipline of Holy Scripture and the result—a fulfilment commensurate with the faith, loyalty, and spiritual greatness of the individual or national servant of God—is inevitable.

But, it may be asked, in what sense was Jesus a light to lighten the Gentiles, when He never went outside the confines of Palestine? We have already said that the Servant is an ideal figure which our Lord accepted as His own. And as He understood the Servant's ministry, it involved death before exaltation. Others must take up the work the Servant demonstrated to be the Will of God. Here it is that the individual and the national theories coalesce. Christ and His Church are as the Servant and those for whom he died. St. Paul, as it has been said, " revives and reinforces the collective interpretation of the Servant. He claims the Servant's duties and experience for himself, his fellow-labourers in the Gospel,

and all believers." His justification for going to the Gentiles is Isaiah xlix. 6: "I have set thee to be a light to the Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for salvation to the ends of the earth."

The purpose of God, as seen by the unknown prophet of the exile centuries before, is now to be translated into action with a new force and impetus. The Servant, unknown by name, is now given a name above every name, exalted high above the kings of the earth.

ALFRED GUILLAUME.

THE TENTH OLD CATHOLIC CONGRESS

THE International Congress of Old Catholics, which was recently held in Berne (September 2 to 4), claims attention from English Churchmen to their hopes and ideals. They are a group of Churches which, though weak numerically, are grappling with their difficulties, and deserve all the support of prayer and friendly intercourse which we can offer. Such intercourse was greatly hindered by the war, and many of their old friends, among whom there was none more devoted than the late Bishop John Wordsworth of Salisbury, have passed away. It would have rejoiced his heart to hear of the formal acceptance of Anglican Orders by the Archbishop of Utrecht and his suffragans, and the resolution of the Old Catholic Bishops in their private session at Berne desiring closer relations with our Church.

The Congress was attended by Archbishop Kenninck of Utrecht, Bishop van Vlijmen of Haarlem, Bishop Küry of Berne, Bishop Moog of Bonn, Bishop Paschek of Czechoslovakia, Bishop Bonczak of Cracow, and Bishop Schindelar of Vienna. The Bishop of Deventer was absent through sickness, the Bishop of Croatia through a family bereavement. Together with the four Bishops of the National Polish Church in America these make up the number of thirteen Bishops of what we may call the Utrecht line. The Metropolitan Germanos, Archbishop of Thyatira, represented the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. I attended at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Rev. W. C. Emhardt represented the National Council of the American Church, and there were also present Bishop Darlington of Harrisburg, U.S.A., Professor Dr. Stephen Zankov of Sofia, priests of the English and American Churches, and guests from the Evangelical Churches of Germany and Switzerland.

History of the Old Catholic Churches.

A word may be said about the history of the Old Catholic Churches, which is little known in England in this generation. The Church of Utrecht has had a chequered and romantic history through two centuries. Its separation from obedience to the See of Rome began with the quarrels of the Jesuits and Jansenists in the seventeenth century. The Jesuits had endeavoured to abolish the diocesan organization and make the Dutch Church a Mission under a Vicar Apostolic. In 1640 Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres, published his book *Augustinus*. Five propositions alleged to have been taken out of his book were condemned by the Popes, but the Dutch theologians could not find them! The Dutch Bishops had no difficulty in condemning the propositions as such.

During the vacancy which followed the death of Archbishop Codde, Luke Fagan, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Meath, ordained twelve priests for the Chapter of Utrecht under a vow of secrecy. A missionary Bishop, Dominique Marie Varlet, on his way out to Babylon, confirmed several hundred candidates at Amsterdam. For this he was suspended by the Pope, and failing to obtain justice in Rome, settled in Holland, and consecrated Cornelius Steenoven as Archbishop, October 15, 1724. It is acknowledged that consecration by a single Bishop is lawful in cases of necessity. Steenoven died and two successors. Finally Varlet consecrated Peter John Meindaerts, one of the priests ordained by Bishop Fagan. Meindaerts consecrated Bishops to the sees of Haarlem and Deventer, and with them held a council in 1763, which condemned the sophistries of the Jesuits and the heresies attributed to the Jansenists. He received letters of communion from many Bishops in France, Spain, Germany, and even Italy. But all negotiations to bring about Reunion with the see of Rome failed.

In 1834 Archbishop von Sauten and his suffragans protested against the new dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and again appealed to a future Œcumenical Council.

After the Vatican Council of 1870, the German Catholics, who refused to accept the dogma of Papal Infallibility, elected Joseph Herbert Reinkens as their bishop. Archbishop Loos died before the day came, so he was consecrated by Bishop Heykamp of Deventer on April 11, 1873.

In 1874 and 1875 two conferences were held at Bonn under the chairmanship of Dr. von Döllinger. They were attended by Bishop Christopher Wordsworth of Lincoln, Dean Howson, and Canon Liddon, with members of the Greek, Russian,

Roumanian, and American Churches. The following year Bishop Reinkens consecrated Edouard Herzog as Bishop of Berne on September 18, 1876. He had been a Professor at Lucerne so much beloved that he was told he would not be required to sign the Vatican decrees if he kept silence. His conscience would not permit this, and he went to take charge of an Old Catholic congregation at Olten. The movement spread through the cantons, and a constitution was drawn up under which he was elected Bishop, and shepherded them for forty-eight years. He was succeeded by Bishop Adolf Küry, who is a Professor of Church History in the University of Berne. There are now in the Swiss Church some 48 priests, in Holland about 30, in Germany 50, in Austria and Czechoslovakia some 21.

The Congress.

On September 1 Bishop Küry, assisted by Bishops van Vlijmen and Bonczak, consecrated Herr Schindelar as Bishop for Austria. He was presented by Bishops Moog and Paschek, and the Archbishop of Utrecht, who occupied the Bishop's throne, took part in the laying on of hands. The service was carried out with full Catholic ceremonial, and was most impressive. Copies of the Swiss Mass in German were provided for members of the Congress. It follows much the same line as the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. without the Epiclesis. The plainsong music for the responses was printed so that all could join with the singers in the organ gallery. The next morning the new Bishop ordained a Deacon Priest for Innsbrück. A private session of the Bishops followed. Conferences were held for the clergy, and various associations for women and young Men. In the afternoon the 51st Synod of the Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland was held, at which Bishop Küry gave a report of his work during the year, and the budget for the year was presented. In the evening a reception was given by the municipality of Berne, and the members of the Congress were greeted by Dr. Rudolf-Christen.

The Congress began with High Mass and Sermon by the Episcopal Vicar, K. Richterich. At the first meeting the delegates were welcomed by the President, Herr E. Frey, and Bishop Küry outlined the work. Pfarrer Kreuzer of Freiburg-im-Breisgau spoke of international fellowship in the work of Old Catholics. It must be an appeal to all classes, not to the intellectual only. The resolution, which was carried unanimously, suggested courses in Bible-study and instruction in worship.

Pfarrer Bailly of Berne spoke of new methods of work necessitated by the dispersion of Church members; laymen and women must be trained to help the clergy in seeking them out. Professor

Gilg gave a most stimulating address on spiritual tendencies in the Roman Church and the reaction from the Jesuit ideal of piety.

At the official banquet Bishop Paschek spoke eloquently on the strengthening of the inward unity in the Spirit of Christ, as well as the outward bonds of national Churches. A garden party followed, and in the evening a lecture by Professor Keussen on the prospects of Old Catholicism, followed by short addresses by representatives of different Churches.

On September 4 there was a requiem for the departed leaders, and the Congress turned to questions of Reunion. Professor Gaugler spoke of spiritual preliminaries, Bishop Küry on relations with the Eastern Church. Professor Zankov from Sofia acknowledged the fundamental agreement of the teaching and the spirit of both Churches, but thought they differed on the Procession of the Spirit and in Eucharistic teaching. This drew from the Archbishop of Utrecht a spirited reply: "We have cut the Filioque out of the Creed; as regards the Holy Eucharist, we confess the fact of the Real Presence, and do not trouble ourselves about the How."

Professor Behrends from The Hague read a learned paper on the validity of Anglican Orders, for which I was able to thank him warmly in an address on the recent history of the Church of England. The Rev. J. A. F. Ozanne from Guernsey spoke on "Anglican and Old Catholic Problems." Other speeches followed on the Stockholm Conference and the progress of the High Church Movement among the Lutherans of Germany.

The Congress ended with a most thoughtful lecture by Professor Friedrich Heiler of Marburg on "Western and Eastern Catholicism," of which the following is a summary:

"The unity of the primitive Church, which was an inner unity of faith and love and gave the Church power to cast out heresies, began to dissolve in the second half of the first thousand years. The Eastern and Western types of Catholicism developed, which have now broken away from each other. Finally, out of Western Catholicism through a fundamental new development Evangelical Christianity has emerged, manifold in its presentation of Christianity, but united in its desire for a pure Gospel."

"The heart of the Eastern Church is the Athanasian Christ-mysticism: 'God is in men to make men divine.' The most conservative and oldest Church is the far removed Church of the East. The soul of the Eastern Churches has remained long hidden. She seeks a life-fellowship with Christ. Any juridical idea of the Church is strange to her. She is the embodiment of Johannine Christianity."

"The characteristic of Western Catholicism lies first in concentration of piety on the question of Sin and Grace. Secondly,

in the organization of the Church as the manifested kingdom of God. Thirdly, in the legal hieratic organization which appears next in the form of the college of Bishops. The Western conception of the Church was simplified, pointed, and narrowed by the Roman Church. Into the place of the old idea of the National Church and Episcopacy stepped Papalism with its uniform law and uniform liturgy. The kernel of Roman Catholic piety, as in the Eastern Church, is Christ-mysticism. We may call it the Petrine."

"These types were met by Pauline Christianity, free from laws, resting on immediate Divine revelation, which found its development in the reformed Churches. During the earlier history of Protestantism appeared a process of de-Catholicizing. During the last hundred years a movement of return to Catholicism had become even stronger. It took its starting-point and development in the Anglican Church, in which the Catholic movement has won over almost half of its members. But also in Evangelical circles, in which High Church reforms had been rejected, strong Catholic tendencies were being shown, such as the liturgical movement in various Protestant Churches and the prospect of unions and federations."

"The originality of the three great Church types is ultimately rooted in the variety of the New Testament types, Petrine, Pauline, and Johannine. These types must not seek isolation or supremacy, but must develop side by side and exchange their inalienable *charismata*. Each of the three great Churches might learn much from the others in order to overcome its own one-sidedness and exclusiveness. The Old Catholic Church, which possessed an inward contact with all three, is called to be a connecting-link between them and prepare the way for future union."

In my remembrance of those crowded days three thoughts are prominent, the beauty and dignity of the worship, the brotherly spirit in which all members of the Congress approached the problems of the day, and the important fact that they were unanimous in desire to form a joint committee for work beyond the seas. The reaction of zeal for evangelistic work will bring new life to congregations that are inclined to be self-sufficient and in consequence are weak.

The unanimous desire to seek closer relations with the Church of England is a challenge to us to cultivate friendship with them. They are a link between us and the Eastern Churches. They seek as we do the full development of a reformed Catholicism. Let us remember the last message of the Œcumenical Patriarch Joachim II. to his friends in England after his deposition by the Turks: "Do not forget the Old Catholics."

A. E. Burn.

BISHOP STEPHEN GARDINER, *DE VERA OBEDIENTIA*

22 GARDINER (Steph.) Stephani | VVinton, Episcopi, | Angli, de uera obedientia, oratio. | qua ex Divinis Scriptvris | haec mira cum euidentia colliguntur, | SECOND EDITION, sm. 8vo, *contemporary bds., fine large copy*, £10 10s
Argent., in ædibus Wendelini, 1536.

Coll.: A6, B8, C8, D8, E10. Exceedingly rare, not noted in Lowndes. No copy in British Museum, Huth, or Christie-Miller sales. The first edition published previous year. Gardiner signed renunciation of obedience to Roman jurisdiction, and published this book in defence of the King's supremacy over the Church.

I SAW this note in a bookseller's catalogue the other day. The volume is now in the Chapter Library at Winchester, a fitting home, for the author's chapel, though sadly mutilated, still exists, with some delicate Renaissance stonework in it, in the cathedral. In it is the chair in which Queen Mary I. sat at her marriage, which Bishop Gardiner celebrated, to Philip II. of Spain and I. of England. (The chair, Canon John Vaughan showed, is most probably the very one which Pope Pius sent for the Queen's crowning at Westminster in 1553.) Their portraits are famous in our coinage—

"Cooing and billing
Like Philip and Mary on a shilling;"

and the memory of the King remains in the deanery, where he slept the night before his wedding. The Bishop's Castle of Wolvesey, where the Queen stayed, is a ruin.

Stephen Gardiner was a learned and in some ways a great bishop. He was exposed to much fierce criticism: some of it was even scurrilous, and very likely it was written by Bale, for it is not impossible for bishops to be scurrilous in attacking theologians with whom they disagree. He was certainly a good scholar. His list of words which it would be wise to keep in their Latin form in the translation of the Bible projected by Cranmer shows him to have seen the difficulties which must arise from the introduction of a new theological terminology. He was probably of the same mind in the matter as Sir Thomas More, whose criticism of Tyndale had sound sense as well as wit. If the Universities had followed his advice as to the proper pronunciation of Greek, there would not have been the confusion which exists to-day: when we go back, as E. A. Freeman did, to the pronunciation Gardiner preferred, Greek scholars will understand us when we try to talk to them in their own tongue. Much

might be said about his politics and much, I think, about his religion, which has never been said clearly. It must suffice here to say that, though with fits of impetuous disagreement now and then, Henry VIII. for the most part trusted him: Edward VI.'s advisers saw in him the most dangerous opponent of ultra-Protestant reformers, and put him in prison, persecuting him pettily in a way which even Burnet says "was much censured, as being contrary to the liberties of Englishmen and the forms of all legal proceedings." He was even deprived of his bishopric. Mary, of course, restored him: it may fairly be said of her, what may not too often be said of kings or even bishops, that she knew a good man when she saw him. He was not in favour of Mary's marriage to a foreigner, though when it was decided on he married her. He was not in favour of persecution, and he did his best to save Cranmer and Dudley, supported Roger Ascham and prevented the imprisonment of Peter Martyr; yet he is said to have supported the re-enactment of the Statute *De Hæretico Comburendo*, and to have been actively concerned in the burning of Rogers and Bradford. Almost everyone in the first period of the English Reformation was inconsistent. It is quite likely that Gardiner seemed to himself to have fixed principles—to stand side by side, in fact, with Tunstall, who had shown under Henry VIII. his full acceptance of the royal supremacy. Tunstall wrote to Pole, in language which very well represents the general English opinion, that the King desired "to reduce his Church of England out of all captivity of foreign powers, heretofore usurped therein, into the pristine State that all realms were at the beginning, and to abolish and clearly put away such usurpation as theretofore in this realm the Bishops of Rome have, to their great advantage and impoverishing of the realm and the King's subjects, of the same. . . . Would to God you had been exercised in reading the ancient councils, that you might have known from the beginning, from age to age, the continuance and progress of the Catholic Church, by which you should have perceived that the Church of Rome had never of old such a monarchy as of late it hath usurped."*

Tunstall, who wrote so clearly, accepted Henry VIII.'s title, and Mary I.'s, of Supreme Head, yet was deprived because he would not take oath to the more carefully guarded supremacy of Elizabeth. Gardiner has affinities also with Thomas More, at least in so far as his love of the New Learning is concerned and his criticism of the more revolutionary reformers. He is a man whom it is easier to condemn than to understand, a not

* This quotation is given from B. Mus. MS., Cleopatra E vi. f. 389, by Fr. T. E. Bridgett in his *Life of More*, p. 347. I have not seen it anywhere else in print. The whole letter ought to be printed.

unusual fate of theologians. Probably he would be better understood if some of his writings, collected by Parker and now in the Corpus Library, were printed—a work which may be recommended to young scholars who wish to say something new and true about the Reformation. Certainly the sermon he preached before Edward VI. on June 29, 1548, would repay publication: it approves the dissolution of the monasteries, the rejection of the Papal Supremacy and the freedom of the clergy to marry, while it affirms the doctrine of the Real Presence. It seems as though he never withdrew the tractate I have mentioned, though he certainly was rather in favour than otherwise of the restoration of England to the papal obedience. It may be suggested that his attitude was like that of the majority of his countrymen: that is, that while he believed in Catholicism according to the ancient model and without the Pope, yet he would rather admit the papal jurisdiction than abandon the traditional faith. To him, as to most Englishmen of his time, the teaching of the Lord as to the Sacrament—

"His was the word that spake it"—

was vital: the claim of the Pope to rule over national Churches was certainly not.

That is what one would infer from this little sermon, for such it is, on True Obedience. It was first printed in London in 1535: there is a Hamburg edition of 1536, as well as the Strasburg one already mentioned. It was more than once reprinted. In 1554 there was an English translation, a very bad one: and it was most bitterly employed by many a "beetle-brow" to confute the author of the original. The tract, indeed, proved a very convenient weapon for those who wished to identify Catholicism with Popery, by arguing that those who did not accept the Pope rejected the Catholic faith. It is worth a short analysis.

The title-page of the edition I have before me summarizes its contents under three heads. From the Holy Scriptures, with as much of remarkable evidence collected as with elegance are expounded: (1) That the traditions of men should yield to the commandments of God; (2) that the Roman pontiffs have no supremacy or jurisdiction over other Churches; (3) that Christian kings, princes, and magistrates ought each to hold the supreme headship of his Church and to foster its religion. Then follows a letter of Capito (Köpfer) Hedio, and Martin Bucer,* and the rest of the clergy of Strasburg in advance of

* Caspar Hedio (1494-1552) was at Strasburg from 1523 (?), and published in 1530 his *Chronica der altenn christlichen Kirchen:* a Reformer, but a friend and correspondent of Erasmus. His intellectual position in 1536 was very much that of Gardiner. (For him, see P. S. Allen's edition of the Letters of Erasmus, v. 479-80, note.) Wolfang Köpfel (Capito) was also at Strasburg from 1521; and he with Bucer drew up the *Confessio Tetrapolitana*, 1530. (For him see Allen, as above, ii. 333, note.) Bucer was in Strasburg from 1523.

Gardiner, welcoming what he says, but impressing upon the reader that Gardiner's logic would carry him much further: the celibacy of the clergy is as reprehensible as the supremacy of the Pope. This preface appears to be substituted by the Strasburg Protestants for that in the English edition which is attributed to Bonner.

Gardiner begins by lamenting the confusion of English religion in his time, and pointing to a knowledge of, and obedience to, the Holy Scriptures as the remedy. Himself had held false views till he turned to this study and was convinced by it. Truth compels the Christian's obedience. Truly to obey is to obey the Truth, for God is Truth. It is He alone who gives us the health-giving water of Truth, of which, when, by faith and obedience to Jesus Christ, a man drinks, he shall never thirst. Obedience is the demand of God, as Samuel and Moses knew and St. Paul also (1 Reg. xxv., Deut. xi, Rom. i.—for Gardiner freely quotes the Scriptures). To trust God involves obedience, and obedience involves mortification of the flesh: for God cannot receive a divided allegiance. Our Lord's reply to His Mother, and His constant reference to obedience: Pauline language as constant; are quoted, not always perhaps very coherently or convincingly. But thus a conclusion is reached—though it is laboured in too much detail—that the moral precepts of the Old Testament are not abrogated. So gradually we are led to the central thought that obedience to a superior lord is obligatory. "Nam et marito uxor, et domino servus quicunque quibuscunque subjecti sunt, præpositis illis obediant propter Deum."

Now it is by divine law that Henry, King of England and France, Defender of the Faith, and lord of Ireland, is universally accepted by the English people as supreme head on earth of the Church of England. The Roman claim is an untruthful one: the English Church is the Church of the English realm, and of that Henry is the head. The argument appears to assert the nationality of Churches as of secular powers. "Ecclesia videlicet merito appellanda quia communio sit Christianorum a loco vero, sicut et Gallicana, Hispana, atque etiam Romana." It would seem to be inferred that the Roman Church has no more power over another than the Gallican might have. The prince is in each case God's vicar on earth, and to such S. Paul, and Christ Himself, command obedience. But some interpret this command, and that of the thirteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as referring to that power of the Pope which is called Ecclesiastical. But the ecclesiastical power is not the same as the supreme power of government, which is what the Scriptures declared to be entrusted to the sovereign. As the

parish priest, the bishop, the archbishop, each has his power, which does not trench upon the others', each ruling the Church in his degree: each in the Body has his own function, as God has commanded (Rom. xiii.). Some say that the Pope is the Sun who rules the day, the King the moon who rules the night. "Caliginosa sane distinctio et tenebrarum plena." It cannot be, indeed, for if the King's power be of God, it must be a power of light, not of darkness. In the King's charge are morals: of the clergy as well as of the laity. This is far stretching: "Quod cura ecclesiastica ad reges pertineat." Solomon had his rule over the orders of Church officers, not wantonly, but by his father David's commands, and David was the man after God's own heart. Hezekiah too. "Ut videlicet rex a Deo constitutus, qui spiritus est æternus. Spiritualia, et æterna potius, ac priori loco curaret, quam corporalia, et tempore peritura." The argument is prolonged: Hezekiah's directions, authorized by God, covered all his subjects, priests no less than lay folk.

"Magnum siquidem talentum est Principibus a Deo concreditum: nempe ut populum non solum regant, sed recte etiam regant: non in una aliqua parte, sed in singulis." The Lord's Vineyard is theirs to prune as well as to cultivate. Absurd were it when all the people are committed to the King's charge if the Church were excepted. Christ is, we all allow, Head of the whole Church, and intercedes for it before His Father in heaven. But on earth He commands all men to obey their national rulers, even if they be Turks. The newness of the name *Supremum Caput* should not offend, for the King has the sanction of universal history as of Scripture. And again, the consent of the whole English people, the Commons and the fathers, is appealed to. And this power extends into things sacred: Justinian made laws concerning the Holy Trinity and the Catholic Faith, concerning bishops, clergy, heretics, and the like: and the old English laws have followed this example.

But if it is replied that the Roman pontiffs are the heads of the Church, let us remember that the title of Defender of the Faith was given to the King by those who now would minimize his power. "Interim certe concedatur necesse est regiam dignitatem summis in Anglia Episcopis semper præfuisse, et sub nomine defensoris Ecclesiæ (quo titulo Regeo etiam Donati sunt ab iis, qui minime tribuerunt) ea præstitisse, et exhibuisse, sinon in omnibus, certe in quamplurimis, quæ capitis dignitatem atque officium in Ecclesia referrent. Defenderunt namque Principes Ecclesiam, quomodo caput tuetur corpus, atque defendit."

But there turns up again the Roman Supremacy. Is not the Pope the universal head, and ought not those who venerate

him as father to refrain from arrogating to themselves such a title? Gardiner does not deny the historical instances of obedience to the Papacy: but where this has derogated from the royal power it has been due to subtle art and human ambition. Kings have tolerated papal encroachments rather than seem to interfere with things properly spiritual. "Majores autem nostri cum Romanorum Episcoporum authoritatem ex fructibus deprehendissent, nec Dei vicarium judicassent, ita putaverunt, tollerandam precariam illam authoritatem quidem cum moderamine, sic enim ratio tum ferebat non abjiciendam, sensisse certe nobiscum se, æditis factis apertissime significaverunt." Titles of honour and reverence are given abundantly to the Roman bishops. Yet among us the Roman pontiff has no more authority than any other foreign bishop. It is well to consult him in any difficulty, but not to abnegate the power committed to the temporal Prince by God. Here again follow Old Testament illustrations. And then Christ Himself. He never gave His authority to the Popes, or such as they usurpingly claim as His vicars. No doubt the Popes are the successors of Peter. But "in Scripturis de primatu Petri nulla facta est mentio." So S. Clement, though declaring the dignity of Peter, James, and John after the Lord's death, yet declares James to be justly constituted the "Apostolorum Episcopus." No primacy or pre-eminence was given to Peter or right to exercise rule over his brethren. "Nullum hujus generis vocabulum novit Christi humilitas, licet enim Christus Deus erat æqualis Patri." Peter was, it is true, held to have a primacy, but that did not give him or his successors the rule of the Church. The University of Paris is counted the first University of the world, but that does not give it rule over the other Universities.

Theology, family life, medicine, art, supply similar instances of distinction. The first, or ablest, has no necessary or permanent primacy in things divine or human. The servant of the servants of God is a title incompatible with supremacy over the servants. It must be admitted that the argument towards the end is not a little tedious: but the conclusion is that, as regards supremacy, "tota Anglia Romam rejecit."

Gardiner's position may be evident from this summary, jejune and imperfect though it is. He rejected the Papal Supremacy on historical and theological grounds, but a primacy of honour he never dreamed of denying to the successors of S. Peter. When England was reconciled to Rome in Mary's reign, Gardiner was certainly ready to be reconciled too. This was probably because he thought that other doctrines, the Sacraments notably, were threatened by the rash reformers of Edward VI.'s day, and that Rome was valuable as a bulwark

against licence. All England had rejected Roman Supremacy. So did he. England was ready to return to it for fear of greater dangers. So was he. The main thought in Englishmen's minds, and in his, was to be free from foreign influence. The Papacy, it seemed, had had its lesson: now the Germans, and the Switzers, and the firebrands who had learnt from them in exile, needed theirs. And the rest of his life was consistent. "Gardiner, so far as he persecuted at all, persecuted as a statesman. He believed that the threat of persecution, the actual execution, if it proved needful, of a few of the chiefs of the party, would at least silence the heretics, if it did not convince them."* He certainly had always before his eyes the maintenance of *Ecclesia Anglicana*, a National Church.

W. H. Hutton.

HENRY MONTAGU BUTLER†

MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, 1886–1918

It is impossible to begin a review of this book without striking a note of congratulation to the author. Whether a son of an illustrious man is the best qualified to write even a part of his biography may be an open question; but that this pious duty has been admirably discharged by Mr. J. R. M. Butler cannot be disputed. It is a task demanding more than finished scholarship and admirable style to deal with the career of a man, remarkable alike for a ripe scholarship and a mastery of expression, and to combine family affection for one who richly deserved the love of his children with discrimination, alike of his great gifts, and those limitations which the subject of this memoir was the first himself to recognize. The difficulty of discharging the function of a biographer is, moreover, enhanced rather than diminished by the fact of Mr. Butler's being a Fellow of the College over which his father presided, and knowing from within all the peculiar conditions of the relations between the Master and the Society. The skill with which Mr. Butler has avoided every error of judgment, into which any biographer in his position might have fallen, deserves the highest commendation on the part of the reviewer.

Dr. Butler was appointed Head Master of Harrow in succession to Dr. Vaughan at the early age of twenty-six. He presided

* E. A. Freeman, *Historical Essays*, 4th Series, p. 295.

† A memoir by his son, J. R. M. Butler. Longmans. 1925. 12s. 6d.

over the school for twenty-six years with conspicuous success, resigning on his appointment to the Deanery of Gloucester in 1885, and entering on the Mastership of Trinity College on December 3, 1886.

The Mastership of Trinity was long supposed at Cambridge to be a somewhat aweful dignity. Since the days of William Lort Mansel (1798–1820), at any rate, the Master of that great college had been regarded as a traditionally unapproachable personage, scarcely human in his attitude to the rest of mankind. The famous remark to an undergraduate who dared to offer the Master an umbrella in a storm, "All communications to the Master must pass through the Tutor," was considered to be typical of the tremendous isolation of the office. William Whewell (1841–1866), world-famed for his comprehensive knowledge of what the schoolmen called "all the sciences," bestrode the little Cambridge world like a Colossus. William Hepworth Thompson (1866–1886), who, as the present writer can testify, was one of the kindest of men, inspired terror by the coldness under which he strove to conceal great shyness and even self-distrust, and was popularly depicted as a sort of deity who, hidden behind clouds and thick darkness, launched thunderbolts of sarcasm, and reduced those who had incurred his enmity to ashes. But although this conception of Thompson is ludicrous to those who came in contact with him, his great academic distinction as Regius Professor of Greek made him an object of respect to the Society, and by the time of his death after long illness he had become a sort of traditional Master, who had worthily upheld the estimation in which the public held his position.

To him Dr. Butler succeeded under somewhat difficult conditions. The appointment is, as is well known, in the hands of the Crown. Human nature being what it is, every college society would naturally prefer to choose its own presiding officer. It may be that it is better for a college to get its Head from some outside authority; and the Fellows of Trinity would certainly never have had the greatest of all their Masters in Richard Bentley (1700–1742), whose life, to do them justice, they did their best to render unendurable, had the choice been left to them. In 1886 the Society of Trinity had outgrown the ferocity which characterized the early years of the eighteenth century, but, nevertheless, many were far from satisfied with the new appointment. They wanted one of their own number, and disliked the idea of another clerical Master. An ex-headmaster was the last person they would have selected. Cambridge is not fond of schoolmasters, and I cannot resist telling the story of the man who told his friend, "I was asked to give

N. a testimonial, and I told the truth about him. I wrote of him as 'an oily obstinate beast.'" "Gracious!" was the reply, "did you really?" "Well, not exactly in those words. I said he was 'bland but firm.'" It is to be surmised that there were Fellows who, aware of Butler's gentle and polished manners, as well as of his strong rule over the Harrow masters, feared that a cleric was set over them who would treat them, not as colleagues, but as ushers in a school. Nor, despite his known abilities, did some consider that a long career in a public school, however distinguished, should be recognized by a preferment, to which a life of severe academic study should be an indispensable preliminary. There was no one more conscious of his defect in this respect than the new Master, who certainly, as his son shows, underrated his abilities and repeatedly confessed his limitations. No one but a great man could have written the following words when accepting the Romanes lecture at Oxford:

> "A mere popular lecture, without criticism or research, is a duty of which I am fairly capable on some favourite hero; but I am too well aware that on no subject can I contribute anything fresh or deep to real literature. Happy is the man who knows his own limits. I have not to travel far without reaching mine."

When it is remembered that this was written by a man of outstanding classical ability, with pre-eminent gifts of expression both as a writer and speaker in English, the modesty and magnanimity of Butler can be appreciated.

In the end the Fellows of Trinity had no reason to be disappointed at the appointment of the Crown. They found in Butler qualities supremely useful in the Head of a College, which few if any of them could supply. He possessed a scholarship, ripened and adorned by contact with his best contemporaries, a courtesy, springing from true goodness of heart, which won the respect and love of the outside world, and a sense of the responsibilities of his position, heightened by his intense love of his College. They soon discovered that they had not an ex-headmaster impatient of contradiction, and ambitious to exercise authority over subordinates, but a man whose aim was loyally to support his colleagues, and to promote the peace of the Society. They saw the Lodge under his influence and that of Mrs. Butler, whom he married shortly after his appointment, adorned by a gracious hospitality which welcomed them together with the younger men, bringing the College into contact with many of distinction in the world, political, ecclesiastical, social, and literary. They soon recognized that in their Hall they were represented by a speaker

whose words compelled the admiration of their guests. And, finally, when he was gone, they could subscribe to the words of one of their most distinguished professorial fellows: "His dignity and courtesy in dealing with those of different convictions, and not given to compromise, I have always admired."

Short chapters are devoted to the "Work of the Mastership" and "College Politics." As Master, Butler tried, and succeeded nobly, to do what he conceived to be his duty, but he had often to yield, and invariably did so with good grace, to the will of the majority. His son sums up his thirty years' tenure very aptly:

> "If he was never the director of College policy, his influence was very great and was appreciated to an extent which amazed him when towards the end of his life his colleagues rose up and called him blessed."

College and University politics were, and perhaps are, a difficult, and not always very creditable, science. To excel in them a man had to have almost lived his life in Cambridge, rarely to hold a conspicuous position, and to understand how to make his puppets dance without their knowing who pulled the wires. He had to know which of his supporters would be ready to give him away on the first opportunity, and to realize that among his avowed opponents were men who could be induced to maintain the causes he had at heart. The men who have moved Cambridge have remained in comparative obscurity, careless of promotion, with no ambition for personal advancement, indifferent as to who gets the credit, provided what they desire is accomplished. To come into a College like Trinity and to expect that it will conform to the wishes of a Master whose chief work has been done elsewhere is to desire the impossible. Butler had the sense to realize this from the first, and to find as his reward that he passed away at a ripe old age beloved and respected, leaving an abiding impression that his place could not be filled, and that his influence would remain to sweeten the College he had loved and served so faithfully.

The chapter on "Religion" is remarkable for the skill and good taste displayed in Mr. Butler's treatment of a most difficult subject. The Master of Trinity was a man of deep religious feeling; and those who urged him to take the Mastership, Archbishop Benson, Westcott, Hort, and others, evidently hoped great things of his spiritual influence over Cambridge. It was a cause of sorrow to him that he was out of sympathy, not only with many in the Society whose aspirations were decidedly lay, but with the rising spirit of Churchmanship. Nowhere does he appear more favourably than in the way he

met the disappointments he encountered. He was in truth one of the great mid-Victorians in the midst of an alien and, possibly, inferior age. I doubt if even a son could know how his father proved a pastor rather than a Master to some of the undergraduates of Trinity.

In addition to his many gifts and a powerful intellect, the Master of Trinity possessed qualities which if at times they amused, certainly endeared him to his friends. His suavity was by no means without salt, and his melodious voice and polished sentences concealed a satire which was more appreciated by others than the person to whom it was directed. With the utmost innocence of manner he could tell one of the most distinguished judges of his time, whose care for his relatives was notorious, that the judge's chambers in Trinity Lodge were full of portraits of ornaments of the judicial bench, "Among them some of your Lordship's own relations." It would be hard to forget the speech he made at the dinner given to him by Trinity men who had been made Fellows of other societies on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. He reminded them that they were, like the ancient Athenian colonists, often men who had been troublesome in their city, but had found homes and even wives amid new surroundings. It was before the war, when conscription was in the air, and the late Colonel H. J. Edwards was a strong advocate of making military service a preliminary to a degree. Turning to the president, Dr. Donaldson, then Master of Magdalene and Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Butler remarked: "A time will doubtless come, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, when you or your successor is about to confer a degree, that Colonel Edwards, like another Cromwell, will enter the Senate House and exclaim, 'Remove that bauble.'" He was the only man who could have blandly spoken these words with so much effect.

A professor of world-wide reputation had been under Dr. Butler at Harrow, and though no mean scholar, having ambitions for mathematical honours, had committed the crime of going on to the modern side. In later life he wrote a paper on early Christianity and described Tacitus as "a pamphleteer." He sent his paper to the Master, who acknowledged it thus: "I regret you have called Tacitus a pamphleteer. Do read him. There is an excellent translation of him by my dear friend Furneaux."

Having had the honour of being the guest of the Master of Trinity in Hall and spent evenings with him, I can testify that a long talk with him was a liberal education. He seemed to know everybody, and to be able to discuss his friends with wonderful discrimination and humour. "For donkeys," says

his son, "he had an even greater affection," and for this reason, perhaps, he was always kind to me. But to gain an idea of the charm of his conversation, one should read his nephew's description of a drive with him of eighty-seven miles to the funeral of their kinsman, Sir Francis Galton, in which Sir Geoffrey Butler reveals some charming family characteristics in his distinguished uncle, and also in himself.

F. J. Foakes Jackson.

SIR EDWYN HOSKYNS, PRIEST AND BISHOP

My purpose in this paper is not to add another to the many tributes paid to the late Bishop of Southwell, but, so far as may be, to illustrate some of the principles of his life and work, in the hope that they may prove of some help to others. It is impossible for one who was bound to him by close ties of personal relationship to write with detachment: yet if, as I believe, there was that in his ministry and his episcopate which represented with peculiar force the genius of the English Church, it seems worth trying to portray it with some fulness.

I. Preparation.

The child is father of the man; and we may well begin with a picture which one of his school-fellows, the present Archdeacon of Dudley, gives of him at Haileybury.

> Those who were at Haileybury between 1865 and 1870 will not have forgotten Edwyn Hoskyns as a boy. In essential characteristics he was then just what he was in later life, loved and honoured and, in the best sense of the word, popular. He was in the Eleven two years, and represented the school at rackets in 1869. His "hammer" service was at times terrific. At Cambridge he took to the river and rowed for the University in 1873, to be followed four years later by his brother, B. G., who was bow in the famous dead-heat. The half-century of strenuous work which has just closed made astonishingly little difference to his appearance, and none at all to his manner. It might truly be said of him—according to the correct interpretation of the proverb—"They whom the gods love die young."

Behind this boyhood lay a home of wholesome traditions, simple piety, and happy memories. His father, Sir John Hoskyns, who had been at Rugby under Arnold and treasured his influence as a life-long possession, was Rector of Aston Tyrrold, a village which nestles snugly under the Berkshire downs near Cholsey. Here Edwyn, the fourth son, with his many brothers and sisters, learnt to love the English country-

side, the open air, and the Thames, and to discover in horse and fishing-rod two of his best friends. Here too he found at an early date, it would seem, his vocation. Those who knew him then say that he never swerved from his boyhood's wish to be ordained; and amidst all the fun and interests of the large family at Aston, he would find time to teach a village boy to read, to take a class on Sundays, or to help the choir at their weekly practice in church. Indeed, the Aston home, as the later record of its members was to show, affords a fine instance of the part which the village parsonage plays in English life.

All this must have meant that Edwyn Hoskyns was in his element during the five years of his first curacy at Welwyn. One could wish that we knew more of those years, for they were of vital importance in the whole career. He was just fresh from his time with Vaughan—that astonishing trainer of future bishops; and he was putting what Vaughan had taught him to the test of experience. He was not one who reckoned himself to have mastered any knowledge or art until he had put it to this test. Partly this came from a natural diffidence and reserve, partly from a deep-seated reverence for his fellow-men; the two qualities being fused by his faith in God into a profound humility, which only made his strength and decision of character the more impressive. In one of his letters from South Africa the Bishop alludes to a priest whom he met as illustrating "what I have always said about the importance of managing one's life properly." That is an art which no books can teach, but only experience and the use we make of it. I take it that the Welwyn curacy was the time when he mastered this art; gentry and cottager alike loved him; and he there laid the foundations which later enabled him, in the midst of the most exacting labours and responsibilities, always to be above his work, tranquil, genial, and strong.

II. As Parish Priest.

"I am imagining a brother clergyman as he enters a new Parish, full of hopes and fears. I will ask such an one upon what plan he is going to work, and then say most earnestly, 'Do not be in a hurry.' Commence work as though you were sure to be there at least ten or fifteen years. Carry in your mind the thought that every boy and girl you see in the street aged ten or thereabouts will be twenty or thirty before you leave or die. In many cases Rectors have had underneath their eye a whole generation from babyhood to marriage and to death, and yet, just because they never realized such a possibility, their work has been scrappy and irregular, and consequently lost much in power. Surely they at any rate ought never to evangelize their people. But it is not a matter of years: he that believes in the continuity of the Church, and that another priest will follow him, will work and lay down his plans as though he were to

be there for eternity. In large centres of population it is different, and yet I believe that if a clergyman sets to work with a wide and patient grasp of his task, does not look for a harvest before he has sown the seed, he will in five or ten years see a rich fruit. If, on the other hand, you scheme, plan, bustle about without any definite aim or object, be a mere opportunist, you will get plenty of praise for hard work, wear yourself out and do little good.

"As you sit then in your study on that first Sunday evening and allow your thoughts to run wild, may I check you and fix your mind on one incident in the day: *You read the banns of three young couples.* Now look forward into the future of your parish, its homes, its centres of good and evil. Picture the offspring of these marriages, your parishioners—the boys, the young men, the (in their turn) fathers. Yes, my brothers, it is a long wait, you think: you want to evangelize, to preach, to convert the masses, to be a second Wesley. But better perhaps that you should 'rise and BUILD.' For the thousands that cry Agitate, Agitate, Agitate, the two or three cry Edify, Edify, Edify."

These words are taken from a paper entitled *From Marriage to Marriage** which Edwyn Hoskyns read before the Evangelistic Committee of the East London Church Fund in 1890. It thus belongs to the middle of his Stepney time, and represents in vivid form the ideals and methods of his work. We might sum them up in two words—building and shepherding; shepherding the individual with a view to building up the home, the nation, and the Church. Each stage of human life from childhood to parenthood is looked at as offering fresh opportunities and fresh temptations to the Christian; and the clergyman must be ready to meet each occasion with patience and sympathy, and the offer of practical help. The bride will be visited after her marriage, the parents after the child is born; the children will be guided as they leave school into the "Old Boys Association," the Confirmation Class, and the Communicants' Guild; and with many the priest must be prepared to deal individually, "speaking face to face and soul to soul." What astonishes us in this glimpse of pastoral work is its thoroughness. No one—and nothing—is left to chance. It is assumed that "offences will come"; but it is assumed also that man or woman, boy or girl, will choose the good rather than the evil, if it is offered with equal clearness and conviction. The priest's task is to "be patient, be *young*, be sympathetic; but at the same time, be in earnest and *firm*."

And then the building. "Give me a child at the door who knows me, and I will soon be at the hearth." None can say how many children the Rector of Stepney knew in that vast parish. Teacher and scholar alike regarded him as their friend. The St. Dunstan's Magazine of these years regularly published

* Republished by request in 1922, price 4d., and to be had of the Secretary, Church Extension Office, 24, Low Pavement, Nottingham.

the Inspectors' Reports on the work in the Day Schools, and on all the subjects taught. No function of any importance took place without the Day Schools being invited, and teachers and children marshalled in their appointed places. He frequently opened school in the morning, regularly taught in it, and brought them to church each week. "On Thursday morning we have 600 children, leaving 300 of the little ones, except on special occasions. The children thus learn to know and to love the Church as theirs. The order and discipline at such services is of course perfect." It is well known how the late Bishop valued Church Schools. But he valued them above all because he used them. He regarded the teachers as colleagues in the work of the Church; and it was at Stepney that he founded the St. Peter's Guild for Teachers which now has branches throughout the country. Nothing in his judgment could take the place of the definite instruction in the Faith which the Church Schools guaranteed, though he endeavoured to fill the gap to some extent for Council School children by a system of children's guilds.

There was probably no Church organization in Stepney in those days in which the element of definite religious teaching was not put first and kept first. He insisted that the gateway, and the only gateway, to the social club should be its Bible Class. His own Men's Bible Class in Stepney Parish Church drew from all over East London. Lectures on Church History and the Prayer Book were frequent. And what he gave them was solid. Careful reading and preparation lay behind every lesson. The Bishop had a very vivid sense of historical scenes and situations. David and Nehemiah lived for him in the same kind of way as they lived for Alexander Whyte of Free St. George's; and he regarded the Old Testament as an indispensable foundation for a full grasp of the Faith of the New. And he knew how to direct his teaching to the practical problems of the moral life, whether in children or adults. Its purpose was to help them to be better sons or parents, better citizens, better members of Christ's Church. The coster and the fishwife had their vocation in that Kingdom no less than the teacher and the priest, and were no less capable of knowing and understanding their religion. The reason why his work has lasted in so many lives is because he grounded it in teaching.

And throughout all there ran the vital spirit of adventure and romance. The state of affairs which he found at St. Clement's, Notting Hill, when he reached it in 1881, is almost incredible. It was a veritable No Man's Land. The school caretaker lived in a caravan; a gipsy encampment was in the Mission room, of which the floor had been torn up by the people

and used as firewood; the principal occupations of the inhabitants were laundry-work and professional begging; the drunkenness, especially among women, was appalling. The work before him was clearly one that would test the Church's civilizing power to the utmost. Yet this "black spot in my diocese" (as Bishop Jackson of London called it) gave the Bishop many of his happiest recollections. Here, as later at Stepney, he gathered round him a band of helpers, of which the Harrow and Rugby Missions are representative to-day; and he left a parish fully equipped with all the organizations necessary to a vigorous and worshipping Church.

Stepney presented problems of a rather different kind. Here was an old parish church which prided itself on its traditions; but it was still enthralled in bumbledom, and had not yet yielded to the movement, then rapidly extending in East London, for showing in our churches the beauty of Christian worship. The altar was the barest table; black gown and evening Communion were the rule; each pew was protected by its door, which a bonneted woman opened for the tenant, holding out her hand the while for a fee. In some cases, if the fee were not forthcoming, the toes of the offender were trodden on—a practice which, when reported to the Rector, he denounced from the pulpit; and before long the doors were removed and the women discharged. On his first Sunday, when he was reading himself in, a worshipper in the gallery was heard to say, "I hear he's a ritualist; we must put our foot down." But, as the event proved, it was the Rector's foot that was put down; and, without loss or friction, the building was restored, the sanctuary properly furnished, and the Church's full teaching and reverence introduced.

These were days when the work of the Church had a glamour all its own; and Edwyn Hoskyns was one of the band of those who made it so. His own staff included three who were afterwards to be bishops. Near him at the Oxford House was Winnington Ingram, whose visits to Stepney Rectory were one of its great delights; and the two men formed a friendship then which was to last throughout life. With such men as pioneers for Christ and civilization in that great wilderness of poverty, no wonder that the West End heard the call of the East, and sent some of its best and gayest souls, both men and women, to join the enterprise in person or help it with the sinews of war. Partly, no doubt, it was the magnetism of a born leader of men that drew them. But still more it was the large conception which the leader kept before himself and all who were with him of what pastoral work might be. We may well pause a moment to consider its nature and its grounds.

The determining factor was his radiant belief in the Incarnation. In Christ he saw God taking to Himself the whole of mankind, transforming every phase and aspect of human life, penetrating every avenue of human experience. He interpreted the inclusiveness of Christ's Humanity as meaning that every relationship in which man finds himself may be a means of glorifying God. The family and the school, the great civic and industrial groupings of society, the State and its public services —all these are necessary and divinely appointed elements of human life; and all were waiting for the inspiration and the touch of Christ. The function of the parish priest was to be His ambassador at every one of these courts. Each of them was meant to be, and could be, a source of influence for good and an ally against evil. By the Incarnation God had claimed them for His own; it was for the Church through its ministers, armed with the credentials of wisdom and gentleness, to maintain and vindicate the claim. And he regarded the Church's established position as chiefly valuable because it meant that the claim was already half-acknowledged: the English Church was the organ through which the acknowledgment becomes explicit. Many changes have taken place in the conditions of the Church's work in the last thirty years; and the Bishop himself recognized that the parochial system needed to be supplemented to-day by other forms of pastoral organization. But the truth still holds, and is of vital moment, that the message of the Incarnation is not to individuals in isolation, but always to individuals as bound up in relationship with others. To believe in Christ's Person as God and Man was to believe also in His Body, the Church.

Closely connected with this firm hold on the truth of the Incarnation was the proportion in which the Bishop combined the ethical and the devotional sides of pastoral work and witness. He rejoiced in the Church's worship; his whole ministerial activity centred in the Eucharist, radiating from it and returning to it again with those whom he led and taught; no words during his last illness were more often on his lips than those of the *Sanctus*. At the same time he never lost sight of the Johannine insistence on character and conduct as the true test of the love of God. He was convinced that the holiness which is the end of the Christian life lay not in belittling natural virtue, but in transforming it. That was why he could cast his net so wide. He did not believe that faith, and the worshipful life in which it expresses itself, depended upon temperament or emotion; it was the gift of God freely offered to every man, illuminating and strengthening mind and heart and will. This balance of pastoral outlook is perhaps one of the great characteristics of

true priestcraft. It is so easy for the priest either to be content with fostering a righteousness which amounts to little more than conformity with the accepted standards of morality, or so to fall in love with the worship of God as to forget the practical problems and needs of men's moral life. But there was nothing either cheap or cloistral about the ministry of Edwyn Hoskyns; nothing cheap, because he went below the easy surface of the world's complacency and challenged men to penitence for sin; nothing cloistral, because the Church was engaged in a warfare, and the campaigning must be done in the world.

The strength of moral influence exercised by such a ministry may be illustrated from a tribute to the Bishop's work in Bolton which appeared recently under the signature of the Rev. J. Darbyshire in a Lancashire paper; all the more as it touches upon an aspect of his ministry—his power as a preacher—not hitherto mentioned.

"Reference has already been made in these columns to his inspiring power as a preacher. His work as pastor and priest was less immediately known to me. I hesitated to approach too close to what seemed to be a veritable volcano of spiritual energy. But of his preaching and public utterances generally I have a very vivid memory. He was the first clergyman I had ever heard with as deep and sincere a passion for social righteousness as for personal holiness, and, as others will remember, his faithful preaching went home to heart and mind and will as few voices did in his generation. I well remember during a course of Lenten sermons on the Apocalyptic letters to the Seven Churches, how searching and almost scorching were his words about certain social wrongs of our age. Yet with all his powerful passion there was a tenderness that was born of purest love.

"Of his more public utterances, I recall, besides the one mentioned in the 'Journal' about the Armenians, an equally striking occasion when he denounced the drink traffic in terms that were far from being so equivocal as so much clerical eloquence tends to be. Taking up a memorable phrase in the Royal Commission's Report just then issued, he reiterated it with a passion that made it reverberate through both building and audience."

An incident which occurred last August is not surprising in view of this. The Archdeacon of Newark met three Lancashire artisans in the precincts of Southwell Minster, and asked them whether they had come to see the building. "No," was the answer, "we come to see t'ould vicar: there was never any like him." A quarter of a century had passed since he had been their vicar. So deep did he lay his foundations.

III. As Missioner.

In 1904 it fell to Edwyn Hoskyns, then Bishop of Burnley, to be one of the leaders of the Mission of Help sent out by the Church at home to the Church in South Africa. The country

was only beginning to recover from the devastation, spiritual even more than political and economic, of the Boer War; and the situation called for rare qualities of statesmanship in those responsible for the conduct of the Mission. For this episode in the Bishop's life we have fortunately his own diary available; and it may well speak for itself. Better than any words of others it will reveal the character of the man and the spirit in which he tackled his work; his love of horses, of children, of men, and especially perhaps of soldiers; his intense love of his country, which made patriotism to him a part of religion; and his whole-hearted trust in the power of the living God.

ARMADALE CASTLE.

Tuesday, June 7.—Cold morning and cloudy, when we expected heat and brightness. I sat up late last night on deck talking first with a Major in the Police Force north of the Zambesi, a friend of Pat Forbes, and then with the young Oxford Cape Town Colonial, T——, a nice young fellow with most courteous manners, and imbued with a keen desire to raise his fellow-creatures in S. Africa. His father is a leading man upon the whole native question, chairman of some commission. I hope to meet him at Cape Town, and shall get him if possible to meet some of us in Conference.

I must give you an anti-Chinese argument from an old 3rd class passenger: "Why, look here, those Chinamen will never spend their money in the country. Now, the *natives* when they got their pay went on the drink for a fortnight, and so all the money stayed in the country." He was much pleased with his shrewdness, and thought his argument convincing.

PORT SHEPSTONE.

July 9.—During the day I called upon some of the leading people. Life here is easy and pleasant. Everyone lives on horseback—men, women, and children. The weather now is charming—hot in the middle of the day, but dry; morning and evening there is a fresh balmy air. The clergyman and wife, H——, are thoroughly nice. She is a young wife and mother. They have a coloured girl to look after their child, and two Zulu boys. The elder one, who waits, is got up most beautifully —bangles, rings, but above all a great string of pearls hung from one ear to the other, hung under his chin. He has now cut his bushy hair quite close except over his ears and the back of his head—a wonderful sight. These boys only stay from 3 to 6 months, and then return to their kraal to rest. An Englishman said to such a boy, "What do you do to pass the time?" "Boss, I do not pass the time; I let the time pass me."

Sunday, July 10.—A full day. Church quite full morning and evening —mostly men. Horses, Cape carts all round the church. Such a strange scene to me.

In the afternoon all the children in the place came—such nice gentle children, with soft manners. There are no poor. After we began service I saw thro' the open west door a black face; the boy was lying on the ground and peeping in. I longed to call him in, but feared the consequences. However, at last the Vicar saw him and brought him in, so I was happy.

As I finished my service, up rode two coloured men on horses, followed by a large covered wagon, with six oxen. Out of it was brought a baby and the whole christening party. There is a colony near here of well-to-do coloured people, quite a superior kind to any I have seen yet.

I think that we have done good work to-day, but I cannot gauge. But I felt that we were in touch with one another. So many men have given up all outward manifestations of religion, but they came to-day, and listened so eagerly. Poor fellows, there is little to help them in most places, and many who live alone in farms or distant offices sink very low. But those here look healthy clean fellows, and are fully aware of their own deficiencies. One's heart goes out to them.

Tuesday, July 12.—After early service and breakfast I went for a ride over some of the Veldt and down to the beach. A neighbouring store-keeper sent me a good pony, and we galloped away merrily. The afternoon and evening services again went well, and people are opening out. To bed tired.

ST. LUKE'S, UMZIMKULWANA.

Friday, July 15.—Up at 3.30 for my journey by post cart to Harding. It was pitch dark when I took my solitary place in the cart, saving for the driver and a small Zulu boy. A brief farewell to two or three men who came to bid me good-bye, and I left P. Shepstone behind me, with many happy associations. Then followed the bumping, banging, neck-breaking, back-breaking drive, yet thoroughly enjoyable and interesting. At about 5.30 I began to see surrounding objects, and then quickly followed a full vision of the ground and the open veldt—great rolling sweeps of mountain and valley. This part of the country is nearly entirely inhabited by natives. We drove past many kraals, the men sitting outside preparing for their breakfast—the wives, terrible-looking creatures, covered with yellow ochre, yellow blankets, yellow skins, yellow matted ringlets.

We outspanned about every six miles, the horses, or rather ponies, six in number, just turned loose into the veldt, where they rolled to their hearts' content and picked up their precarious living.

Breakfast at 8.30 in a little hotel. My companion from the kitchen was a sweet little fair-haired English girl named Gladys. We made great friends, tho' I had not much time to get down porridge, bacon and egg, and some jam. Then on, but only for an hour, to this native mission station of St. Luke, Umzimkulwana, of which Mr. T. is Priest in Charge. I immediately recognized a change in dress and manner. Girls in white or other colours were slowly walking up towards the church. As I drove up I found a row of catechists and other leading men, to greet me, whilst a crowd of men, women, and children gathered at the door of the church. There I found the place crowded, with about 50 outside, for whom no place could be found, or about 350 in all. The building is a long, low, white-washed, iron-roofed structure, used for school and church. Most of the congregation squatted on the floor, the children making a delightful group in front. The service, Mattins and Litany, was of course in Zulu: hymns and canticles all sung without instrument or choir. Then came my address, interpreted by one of the catechists. I spoke on "Ye are the light of the world"—how I started in the dark from Port Shepstone, and then how the sun lighted up everything, etc., etc. So were they in heathen kraals to be lights, and so on. My interpreter got very excited, and used

a good deal of action, and evidently preached a useful sermon—whether it was mine or his I cannot say.

I noticed how, when I gave the blessing, all those outside knelt down on the ground in the most reverent posture. After service the whole crowd came to the vicarage and stood round in a great semicircle, and waited patiently for my appearance. The Vicar took me slowly round, introducing me to some of the oldest and first Christians—aged, wizened men and women, of a dark copper hue. Some of the little children were delicious. The boys and girls of 15 and 16 are very finely grown.

Sunday, July 17.—Early Celebration. At 11 the Hall was full—the congregation having gathered from farms on the veldt, miles away. Most of the people rode in, or drove, whilst an ox wagon with two splendid oxen brought in one large party. There is an old Presbyterian minister here, who has a little chapel. He closed all his services and came to sit under me. I hope that he was edified.

Our churchpeople here only get one service in a month, supplied by poor H—— of Port Shepstone, who rides 55 miles in all weathers to feed these few sheep. It is not much to be wondered at that many of the people lose all sense of need of a service. And yet they value it when they can get it.

In the afternoon my little friends Francis, Dulcie, Kathleen and Jack took me out for a walk, Maud being too young.

The evening congregation was good, and nearly entirely men. They seem so grateful for one's sympathy.

MARITZBURG.

July 20.—Held a meeting of men to arrange plans for gathering together the men at the mission. About 80 turned up. The result was most excellent, for we handed over entirely to them the whole organization for men's services, formed them into a committee, and walked out (all we clerics), leaving them entirely self-management. Now their and not our credit is at stake, and they are bound to make it go. This is a great comfort, and upon a right principle. It is so interesting to find ourselves working amongst a class of men here who would ignore us in England—magistrates, officials, the upper ranks.

Tuesday, July 26.—Quiet day. Much writing to Cape Town.

In the afternoon I rode by myself out on the veldt, and galloped for miles. No horses trot—a gentle gallop is the rule, pony and rider being able to go thus for great distances without tiring. The height of most of the horses is that of Tommy. The heaviest men ride such ponies; big horses fail.

On Wednesday I left Maritzburg for Estcourt, and found myself at the Vicarage in the most comfortable house that I have seen since I landed. The Vicar, Foster, is an excellent man, doing good work in a huge district. There are three clergy, who all live on horseback, riding away to distant farms, where they stop the night or nights. Foster came out here a dying man, and is now one of the most vigorous in the Colony. The church, a stone one, is close to the Vicarage, and in perfect order. And as with the Vicarage and church, so seems it with the people. Nearly everyone seems to come to church, whilst in the more distant stations and farms nearly everyone seems to be a Communicant.

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Again I say that nothing has delighted me more than the gentleness and good manners of children. They are most attractive.

Mr. Simmonds, the great horse breeder of whom I spoke in my letter from Ladysmith, lives near here. He is a keen sportsman, and as keen a lover of the Church. He has two desires—to own a pack of hounds, and to build a church. He has got the former, and is getting the latter.

ESTCOURT.

July 31.—Such a strange being came in to see me after the evening service—a huge man about 6 ft. 4 in., one of S. Africa's wastrels. He looked at me with this delightful introduction, "Well, I'm damned, what has brought me into the presence of a parson?" There he sat with his head in his hands—"What the devil made me go to church? I have never entered one for years," and so on—and then he utterly broke down. I got him down on his knees, but in the middle he sprang up: "No, this is not for me." At last he got up to go away to a lonely farm 20 miles away, but turned back, drew me into the room, and then flung himself upon his knees, sobbing and saying, "Give me that old-fashioned thing." So we prayed again, and then he took my hand and put it upon his head, and I realized that the "old-fashioned thing" was the Blessing. These wastrels are very common, especially up north—wild, daredevil fellows, the pioneers of a new country, often of very good birth. It was very touching, for there, deep down in the poor depraved heart was the spark, flickering, not yet out, and by God's grace still to be fanned into a flame.

August 5.—And now for Spion Kop.

A 23-miles' drive in a rough cart and along a very rough road, but splendid air and sunshine. At 12 o'clock we got to the foot of Spion Kop on the reverse or Boer side. Spion Kop upon that side forms a great horseshoe, and you understand at once the dreadful position that our men were in, immediately on their arrival upon the top.

Having got possession only of a little bit of the toe of the shoe, they were caught between the two fires from the Boers who occupied the two horns. The fighting on the actual top was nearly hand to hand, until the British and Boer dead and wounded, lying in a very little space, numbered about 1,500. Now it is one great cemetery—our poor fellows just covered over in the trenches where they lay, for they could not dig graves.

After viewing all the graves, we walked across the hill to the face which our men climbed, and little do we in England realize what that face is. It is all but sheer, and it is a mystery to me how any man ever climbed it at all. I am very glad that I had not to do so, even to-day, in a nice, cool winter's day, whereas they ascended it in the summer.

The whole scene was inexpressibly sad, and one came away sick of war and its horrors.

DUNDEE.

August 7.—We are getting along well—Sunday went strong—a capital body of Communicants—an excellent service for men, with Wesleyan and Swedish ministers present, and a packed church at night. These dear people out here are so responsive, coming in from afar, being put up on Saturday and Sunday night, and then away in wagon or Cape cart. "By Jove, I'm jolly glad to have seen you," is a nice kind of greeting from a young fellow, a gentleman, who is stock-farming with two other men,

away 30 miles from nowhere. His problem was, What are young fellows to do of an evening? I gave two solutions, "Marry, or go to bed." It is a real problem, this lonely life for young educated men, who are roughing it alone on the veldt.

MARITZBURG.

Sunday, August 21.—Men's Service. Excellent attendance; about 500 present. I think that I held them. I took my old subject, "I write unto you, little children—fathers—young men." In the evening the Cathedral was crammed, about 100 not getting a seat. I began a course on Nehemiah, but I am afraid was rather exhausted, experiencing that longing desire to stop, which I did. However, all seemed pleased, and we had a large number of intercessions, which made the last part interesting. Early to bed, but did not sleep—overwrought a little, perhaps.

* * * * *

Two dear little Indian children crept into the vestry this morning, watching me as I wrote. I found out that they spoke English, and that the one was Sophie and the other Christina. We are sworn friends.

As I write, a most absurd native is sitting on the top of a very high telegraph pole, opposite my window. He looks exactly like a baboon, and is engaged in making signs and uttering the most extraordinary sounds to the native servant in this house. Out of his pocket he has extracted a little mouth organ, and is now serenading his love with most touching airs. How long he is going to sit in this exalted position I do not know, but he is very happy. To hear these natives shout and laugh is a joy—they enjoy the sense of living. Rain, rain—the first since Cape Town—opened my dusty umbrella—frogs all out singing praises in raucous strain.

It is now Friday, and I have not had a moment to call my own. Everything has grown, and now I am trying to meet a volume of work. If I closed all the services to-day, I should have work here for a month. It is quite overwhelming. The two mid-day services for men have grown each day, whilst we are filled at every other service—crowds of men, who come for private interviews, and talk like children of their troubles. My sermon on Sunday last seems to have made a great impression, and bears out what I always maintain, that we must appeal to *fathers*. Two husbands and wives have been reconciled, and now I have just received a letter from one of the Colenso party leaders, asking for a meeting, and begging that the mission may bring reconciliation between the two parties.

It is all very wonderful, and I feel as I never felt before how all is taken out of our hand, and God works through poor agents, but does not therefore shorten His arm. The sad, sad thing is that there are no clergy here to carry on the work—not one, when six are wanted.

The office girls in the town have asked for an address this afternoon, and I am just off for that. I have no time to eat, sleep or write, and look forward to my old *Armadale Castle* next Thursday from Durban.

CAPE TOWN.

September 19.—Diaries have been impossible during this week—one day following another, the interest only changing according to the new experiences of humanity. All has gone wonderfully well. I called together all missioners on Saturday morning, and found them full of spirits, though voices had gone down two or three notes. There seems to have been no failure.

* * * * *

A fine fellow came to me on Friday in great trouble, and has just returned to see me. I find that he took some of my words about Prayer as the getting out of the world into the pure atmosphere of God literally, and for the whole of Sunday—Saturday and Sunday night—has been on the top of Table Mountain, praying and fasting. He has come back a new man, with face quite changed, and is writing to his wife to rejoin him.

* * * * *

The Headmaster at the Diocesan College told me a nice story about Rhodes. The latter gave a scholarship to the College, and in doing so sent for the Archbishop, Kipling, Jameson, and others, to discuss conditions. He gave his opinion as to the need of introducing lads to higher collegiate life, and then added, "And then we must have character, and the best model is the Saviour."

E. G. Selwyn.

(*To be concluded.*)

MISCELLANEA

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE Editor would be greatly obliged if contributors would facilitate his task by marking in pencil on the first page of any MS. or typescript the number of words which it contains.

Miss Evelyn Underhill writes to point out that the quotation from the Abbot of Pershore's article in THEOLOGY, April, 1923, with which the Rev. A. F. Judd concluded his article in our last issue, comes from a paper by Baron von Hügel not hitherto published, and entitled "Facts and Doctrines Concerning God of Importance in the Life of Prayer." The Abbot implied in a footnote to his article that its source was Baron von Hügel; but we are glad to have the more exact reference, and hope that the whole address may be published.

Rhymed Instructions upon the Lord's Prayer, with Tunes, is the title of a charming collection of rhymes composed originally by the Rev. F. M. Downton for Council School children when they come to church in their dinner-hour, and now published by A. V. Gibbs and Son, Wantage, price 3d. net. The lesson on "Thy Kingdom Come" is thus versified:

God's Kingdom comes as one by one
  We make our hearts His throne,
And work and pray, till life is done,
  To make His glory known.
And so it spreads from more to more,
From heart to heart, from shore to shore;
Till all men serve Him, and adore,
  And call Him Lord alone.

PERIODICALS

THE Editor begs to acknowledge the receipt of the following periodicals during 1925:

Half-Yearly: *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.*

Quarterly: *Biblica; Ephemerides Theologicæ Lovanensis; Analecta Bollandiana; Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society; Hibbert Journal; Journal of Theological Studies; Church Quarterly Review; Gregorianum; International Review of Missions.*

Bi-Monthly: *Canadian Journal of Religious Thought; Journal of Religion* (U.S.A.).

Monthly: *Expositor; Expository Times; Blackfriars; Churchman; American Church Monthly; Nouvelle Revue Théologique* (Louvain); *La Vie et les Arts Liturgiques; Modern Churchman.*

We wish to add to the above a request. It is clearly impossible for an editor himself to read, still less to digest, the wealth of contributions to theological knowledge represented by the periodicals named above. Yet

many of them frequently contain discussions of matters which would be of interest to our readers. We wish, therefore, to invite the co-operation of any scholars who would be willing to receive the periodicals, and in return to write a brief *résumé* of any articles or notes which seemed to them of especial importance. In particular, we wish to plant out in this way the following (the remainder being already arranged for):

(1) *Biblica:* edited at the Biblical Institute in Rome, and containing articles and reviews in Latin, French, German, Italian and English. Whoever took this would have to be well versed in modern languages. Some of the best material is in Italian.

(2) *Ephemerides Theologicæ Lovanensis*—the Louvain quarterly, in French and Latin; and *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*—also from Louvain, but briefer and in French only. Both these are very well done, and theology in the French tongue is nearly always attractive to read.

(3) *Analecta Bollandiana*—the fruit of the great Jesuit study of the lives and literature of the Saints, edited by Père Delehaye and two others. French and Latin would be needed for this. Any English books which are in any sense "hagiographical" are reviewed here, and particular attention should be paid to these reviews.

(4) *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.* This is of recent origin, well documented and illustrated, and gives the results of the archæological researches to which the new era in Palestine has given great impetus. Most of it is in English, but there are occasional articles in French. A knowledge of Hebrew and Arabic, and probably Syriac, would be necessary if this were to be properly reviewed.

(5) *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* is a monument of learning, and an example of what a University Library may do. It is especially strong on the bibliographical side.

(6) The two bi-monthly journals, *The Canadian Journal of Religious Thought* and *The Journal of Religion*, are of interest for the light they throw on currents of thought beyond the Atlantic; the last-named especially reveals the tendencies of modern Protestantism.

(7) *The International Review of Missions.* The great increase of interest in missionary problems, of which *The World Call to the Church* is symptomatic, gives added importance to this review.

In inviting offers of help with the periodicals mentioned above, we desire to emphasize what we want. This is not reviews of the several numbers of each periodical, but summary notes of points and arguments contained in any of them which are likely to be of interest to readers of THEOLOGY. Fresh discussions of old *cruces* in biblical exegesis, new light from documentary or archæological sources on the Bible or Christian history and institutions, new ways of stating doctrine with a view to greater precision of thought, correction of error, or adaptation to the intellectual outlook of to-day—these are the things we aim at collecting. And they should be presented in such a way that the ordinary reader will be able to grasp the point, while the student will be prompted to turn to the original and study it for himself. No rule can be given about length; but generally speaking no single Note should exceed 400 words. They should be sent to the Editor within a month of the periodical being received, and will be published under the title "Notes on Periodicals" as soon after as possible.

E. G. S.

STUDIES IN TEXTS

1 Cor. ii. 14: ψυχικὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπος οὐ δέχεται τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ Θεοῦ (*Now the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God*).

Who is ὁ ψυχικός, the "natural" man? The answer seems superficially simple; the man who is not πνευματικός, "the man in whom the higher faculties have not yet been quickened by the touch of the Spirit" (Goudge, *in loc.*). St. Paul, like the other N.T. writers, especially St. John, wrote normally of Christians and non-Christians in clear dualistic terms, light and darkness (Rom. xiii. 12, Eph. v. 8), death and life (Rom. viii. 6), this world and the other world (1 Cor. ii. 12). He saw strong colours, and his thought ran naturally on *entweder-oder* lines. But it is important to maintain that he recognized *three* types of men, the carnal (σαρκικός), the natural (ψυχικός), and the spiritual (πνευματικός), corresponding to the three "principles" of σάρξ, ψυχή, and πνεῦμα.

The carnal and the natural cannot simply be equated, although both are opposed to the spiritual.

St. Paul only uses the word ψυχικός in 1 Cor., and there only four times; in the three remaining places he is speaking of the natural body as opposed to the resurrection or spiritual body. This use seems to suggest that the natural man is the man with potentialities either for "the flesh" or "the spirit." The train is laid, but the divine spark is needed to fire it—or else it may be "set on fire by hell" (James iii. 6).

Elsewhere in N.T.—*i.e.*, James iii. 15 and Jude 19—it must be admitted that ψυχικός is almost equivalent to σαρκικός and equally disparaging. But it is capable of a kindlier meaning from its very derivation. It is interesting to note that it seems to have become a word of condemnation only in N.T. as a result of the "supernature" experience of special contact with God through the Spirit. The word is never common, but Aristotle, Polybius, and Plutarch use it in the good sense of "soul-ful" (*cf.* ἡδοναὶ ψυχικαὶ, Arist. *Eth.*, N. 3. 10, 2, "mental pleasures").

The Montanists, claiming to be "the spiritual" *par excellence*, scornfully called their orthodox opponents οἱ ψυχικοί (Clem. Alex., 604). It is wrong to suppose that "the natural man" inevitably does "the works of the flesh" as given in Galatians v. 19, 20. No doubt Corinth was crowded with the carnal class. But there were also Jews, probably belonging to the "liberal" type of the Diaspora, and "God-fearers," φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν, people who in an evil city had been attracted by the strict morality of the Jews and by their monotheism. "The majority of the Church of Corinth was no doubt drawn from the God-fearers" (K. Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 233).

In 1 Cor. i. and ii. St. Paul has spoken of the Jews' desire for signs (i. 22) and the Hellenes' wish for wisdom (i. 22), and has said that the secret of the Gospel is not made known in response to either, but in answer to those who are open to the influence of the Spirit. He has not been speaking of people whose hearts had been chilled by the deeds of the flesh, but of those who were content with earthly wisdom and not ready for the "wisdom from above." To-day the three classes are more clearly marked than in St. Paul's day. Indiscriminate Baptism and nominal Christianity have brought this about. While there are still many who are merely "carnal" and live to satisfy their flesh, it is in the numbers of the "natural" class that there has been an enormous increase, and it is there

that the problem is so difficult. In any given parish *οἱ ψυχικοί* will be found in the majority of the houses. They swarm in the suburbs. They are the "good-living" people, as they are often careful to tell us. They do not, of course, come to church, but "they don't do harm to anybody." They are kind to their children and strong in the animal virtues, on which it is easy but mistaken for men and women to congratulate themselves.

There are others of a different type who also come under the classification, *οἱ ψυχικοί*; they are mostly young men and women probably from a University, who have a soul (*ψυχή*). Their soul is most commonly touched by Scriabin, or Tchekov, or Paul Nash, but not by St. Paul. Many of the psychologists—how apt the name!—who impartially analyze our spiritual experiences and vicariously experiment in religion are also of this class. They are all doing "dead works"—*i.e.*, works which "proceed from a will unrelated to its true end in God." They are not sharers of "the *worship-ful* life." Their "conduct is conformable to Christian standards, yet uninspired by the motive which alone exalts that conduct to the level of worship" (*vide* the Editor's article, "The Content of Salvation," in THEOLOGY, October, 1923; also his *Approach to Christianity*, chap. vii., although in one sentence in the latter *ψυχικός* and *σαρκικός* seem to be made synonymous).

So we shall have to point out to these people that though we cannot in fairness condemn them as "carnal," yet from the true Christian point of view they are almost as unsatisfactory because they are not consciously influenced by the Spirit.

"They rest in Nature, not the God of Nature" (G. Herbert, *The Pulley*).

GEOFFREY CARLISLE.

NOTES

I. EISLER ON THE LAST SUPPER

THE place of honour in the November, 1925, number of the *Zeitschrift für die N.T. liche Wissenschaft* is given to Eisler's interesting essay "Das letzte Abendmahl." He fully retracts his former view, that the Eucharist is of Pauline origin and based on the Mystery Religions; it now appears to him as one of "the most perverse and erroneous conclusions in the whole history of N.T. research." Jewish customs are adequate to explain the rite described in the N.T.

He starts from the art. "Maẓẓah" in *The Jewish Encyclopædia*, which contains the following statement. [Let us explain first that "Maẓẓah" means unleavened bread, as used in primitive times, and always when haste is needed, as in preparation for a guest or for a journey. "Seder" is the name used by the Ashkenazic Jews for the home service on the first night of the Passover; the Sephardic Jews call it "Haggadah," after the narrative told by the head of the family. The order used to-day can be traced back to the third century A.D. The rite described below is not discussed in the Talmud. Presumably it is very ancient and no disputes arose concerning it.]

"The three maẓẓah-cakes used at the Seder service on Passover eve are placed one on the other in a plate or in a threefold cover specially made for the occasion. The three maẓẓah-cakes are distinguished as 'Kohen,' 'Levi,' and 'Israel.' The fourth order of the Seder is Yaḥaz, in which the middle maẓẓah ('Levi') is broken into two parts,

the larger being put aside as *afiqomen*, with which the meal is finished; the smaller part is left between 'Kohen' and 'Israel.' When the Haggadah is recited the mazzot are uncovered and exposed to view. The eighth order of the Seder is Mazzah; in it a piece of the 'Kohen' and a piece of the 'Levi' are eaten after the benedictions 'Ha-Mozi' and 'Mazzah.' The 'Israel' is eaten during the tenth order, 'Korek,' with the bitter herbs, as practised by Hillel."

[We now summarize Eisler's argument.]

The representation of Israel as a loaf is very ancient. *Cf.* Hos. vii. 8, "Ephraim is a cake not turned," and the shew-bread symbolizing the twelve tribes. In military contexts, especially, the people are called bread; *cf.* the word "com-pany," the society of those who share bread, and its parallels in many languages. This is a fundamental thought of the Passover feast and is eminently appropriate to the Exodus from Egypt of nomad tribes. It is quite unnecessary to suppose a Canaanite (agricultural) origin. The eating of the mazzoth means that the individual household enjoys communion with the Community of Israel; when the threefold division is established, then with the Israelites, Levites and priests; and in the last resort with God, the shew-bread being "the bread of God."

The Eucharistic prayer in the *Didache* ix. 3 is very significant: "As this broken bread (τὸ κλάσμα) was scattered on the mountains and collected together became one, so let Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom." It may well be an authentic utterance of Jesus. The allusion is clearly to the "Israel" eaten at the end of the Seder.

We now look at the ceremony of the "Levi." The *afiqomen* is playfully hidden till the end of the meal, when it is found, generally by the sharpest child, and given out by the head of the family in pieces to the rest, who eat it as their last mouthful, the other part and the "Kohen" having been eaten before the meal proper. The meaning of this rite was lost at an early date.

The usual explanations of *afiqomen* are unsatisfactory. [*The Jewish Encyclopædia* gives only ἐπὶ κῶμον and ἐπικώμιον.] Eisler proposes ἀφικόμενος, "arriving," "coming." ἄρτος ἀφικόμενος is a shortened expression for "bread of the world to come." The meaning at once becomes plain. The original rite was a breaking off from the one mazzah of the larger part, signifying the Ten Tribes; this was lost and found again at the end of the world, in the days of the Messiah. The *Didache* prayer clearly presupposes this. In the present rite, with its three mazzoth, the interpretation is also clear. *Afiqomen* is another form of ὁ ἐρχόμενος, the Coming One, the Messiah (*cf.* Mt. xi. 3, xxiii. 39, the Palm Sunday cry, and Heb. x. 37. The Jews always make *afiqomen* a masculine). The *afiqomen* is broken off from "Levi," testifying to the expectation that the Messiah, as a second Moses, would come from that tribe. See Test. Sim. vii. 2: "The Lord shall raise [him] up from Levi as high priest and from Judah as King," harmonizing the two traditions. The action signifies the mysterious lying hid of the pre-existent Messiah, an idea so well attested that we need only quote Jn. vii. 27, "When the Christ cometh, no one knows whence he is," *i.e.* where he is to be found.

Coming now to the Last Supper, we see that the words "Take, eat, this is my body" must have been uttered when Jesus took the *afiqomen*, brake it and gave to the disciples. The Pauline addition "which is broken for you" is authentic. (It cannot be a *vaticinium post eventum* because

the Lord's body was not broken on the Cross. Jesus expected to die, but was not certain how.) He took the *afiqomen*, with a symbolic gesture like those of the older prophets, and said: "This (*afiqomen*) is my body," meaning: "The coming Messianic King is—Myself." You, that is, will enjoy the presence of the Saviour-King, will enter into bread-fellowship with Him. Afterwards this was understood in a literal and mystic manner, under the influence of Gentile ideas, but the original meaning was as given above. For Eisler's treatment of the Pauline and Johannine evidence we must send the reader to the German original, as also for his brilliant treatment of "daily bread" in the Lord's Prayer.

W. K. L. C.

II. ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DIE NEUTESTAMENTLICHE WISSENSCHAFT

The November number of this magazine, covering the second half of 1925, contains many good things. Prof. Lietzmann, the editor, von Harnack's successor at Berlin, contraverts the prevailing view that the Creed of Cæsarea, brought forward by Eusebius, formed the basis of the Nicene Symbol (*i.e.* that of 325). He enumerates the difficulties and concludes that the Commission to which the matter was referred took an old creed, now lost, of the Jerusalem type, into which they introduced, rather clumsily, anti-Arian phrases. He submitted his article in proof to von Harnack, who in an Epilogue states his position. He is satisfied that the Creed of Cæsarea was not the basis of the Nicene Creed, but thinks that the course of events was as follows. The Editorial Committee (*Redaktionskommission*) had before them a number of Oriental symbols. In using these and adapting them in an anti-Arian direction they tried to reconcile as many interests as possible. Eusebius naturally claimed that his Creed was taken as a basis, but other bishops could have made the same claim. (See Burn's *Introduction to the Creeds*, pp. 77 *ff.* for the ordinary view.)

Prof. Windisch of Leiden contributes a long article on the Seventh Beatitude—"Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the sons of God." Is there an integral connexion between the two parts of the verse, as in the previous verse—"Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God"? The answer is surprisingly illuminating. The thought is Jewish, but Hellenistic as well, the Greek phraseology being attested in connexion with the Emperor-cult.

The O.T. is rich in expressions denoting the LORD as giver of peace, esp. Isa. xlv. 7, "I make peace." In 1 Chr. xxii. 9, 10 we have an expression very close to our passage: "His name shall be Solomon, and I will *give peace* . . . in his days . . . and *he shall be my son*." Becoming God's son is connected with giving peace. Various Talmudical phrases presuppose the expression "for they shall be called sons of God." The exact word "peacemaker" is not, however, traceable in Jewish sources. It occurs in Dio Cassius of Julius Cæsar (xliv. 49, 2) and of Commodus, who in a list of honorific titles implying Godhead is termed "world's peacemaker" (*εἰρηνοποιὸς τῆς οἰκουμένης*). The idea is far earlier. Thus Demetrius Poliorcetes (Athenæus vi. 62) is addressed as "Son of God" and prayed to in these words: "First make peace, beloved; for thou art Lord." In Mt. v. 9 these great words are brought to earth. Not one Emperor, but every Christian making peace in his own humble sphere

will be raised to the position of "the sons of God," the heavenly beings who accompany the one Son of God.

Modern theories partitioning the Fourth Gospel have been so little studied in England that H. Sasse's paper on *Der Paraklet im Johannesevangelium* will seem very fanciful. But it is worth recording here, if only to remind readers that German scholars have gone part of the way towards an accepted literary analysis comparable to that which is freely accepted here in the case of the Synoptic Gospels.

Sasse starts from the position that Jn. xv.-xvii. is an insertion in the framework of the Gospel, "Arise, let us go hence" of xiv. 31 being originally connected with "When Jesus had spoken these words, he went forth . . ." of xviii. 1. He then shows that xvi. 4-33 is a duplicate of xiii. 31—xiv. 31. A few of his detailed comparisons must suffice: xiv. 19 with xvi. 16, 22 with 17, 25 with 25a, 28 with 28. The rest of xv.-xvii. has a few but significant parallels with xiv. Which is the earlier stratum of tradition? The conduct of the disciples is decisive. In xiv. they ask questions freely. In xvi. they are afraid to do so. Therefore xvi. is earlier, for would the free questioning have been suppressed? Sasse now explains his theory. Chapters xv.-xvii. are an interpolation from the book of discourses which the compiler of the Gospel used. Only in xiv. have we a parallel narrative, founded on the source, which in this case is also given. So far the paper is suggestive. Sasse now discusses the Paraclete of xvi. This originally referred to the great Spirit-filled prophet on whose revelations the Fourth Gospel rests, who would not speak of himself, xvi. 13 being an elaboration of Matt. x. 20. To avoid misconception, the Evangelist in xiv. 16 lays stress on "another Paraclete," who will abide for ever. If it were not for this very curious phrase, which needs explanation from the Gospel itself—it is not sufficient to refer to 1 John ii. 1—one would think no more of Sasse's theory. Even when one gives it full weight, distrust of so startling a novelty is inevitable.

A very few books are reviewed, most of them as it happens English. These are: Bp. Welldon's *De Civitate Dei*, praised for its very useful illustrations of St. Augustine by himself, but criticized for its scanty use of scientific literature; Dr. Marriott's *The Sermon on the Mount* ("It is a good book, and just its goodness arouses the wish to see it still better"); Dr. Burn's *The Council of Nicæa* ("We have cause to welcome this fine book also in Germany"); Dr. Streeter's *The Four Gospels* ("One will have respect for the acuteness—and the courage—displayed in this book"); and Prof. Burkitt's *Christian Beginnings* ("No New Testament scholar can afford to neglect these sharply formulated, spirited arguments").

The other articles are more technical in character, with the exception of Eisler's on the Eucharist, which has already been noticed.

III. REVUE D'HISTOIRE ECCLÉSIASTIQUE

Does this wonderful magazine have the circulation it deserves? A sketch of numbers 3 and 4 (issued as one number because of a strike) for 1925 may whet the appetite.

The first part runs to 340 pages of closely printed matter, some 500 words to a page. Three full-length articles, dealing with the Origin of the Tonsure, Abélard, and Jansenism, come first. Shorter articles follow. Next come long reviews of all important books in all languages. Then a Chronicle, occupying nearly 100 pages, which summarizes research in

each country separately, and tells of conferences, deaths, and appointments in the learned world. The second part consists of 248 pages of bibliography. One page taken at random contains books in Latin, German, French, Spanish, Dutch, and English. All important reviews are added, and a further section catalogues the reviews of books noticed in previous numbers. The present double number has 3,723 bibliographical entries. We are gratified to note that all important articles and reviews in THEOLOGY are included. A few extracts will show how widely the net is cast. The bibliography includes among English books such entries as these:

A Conference on History Scholarships; A History of Minnesota; The Chief Elements used in English place-names; Taxation in Salford Hundred; a note in *The Expository Times* on Col. ii. 23; *Warren Hastings and the Assignment of the Carnatic; Modernism and Historic Christianity; An Introduction to Philosophy.*

This wonderful magazine, issued by the University of Louvain, is the only complete guide for scholars in the world. It costs 80 Belgian francs a year, less than a pound.

W. K. L. C.

THE CANTERBURY AND YORK SOCIETY

On Tuesday, November 17, the Canterbury and York Society held its twenty-first Annual General Meeting. It was an interesting occasion in more ways than one. It marked the Society's coming of age, a fact which gave the Chairman, Sir Lewis Dibdin (the Dean of the Arches), an opportunity of pointing with just pride to the very large amount of work, astonishing indeed when the small membership of the Society and its slender income are considered, which the Society had already accomplished. Sir Lewis pointed out that the laborious transcription and editing of Episcopal Registers and other Ecclesiastical Records for which the Society exists was all done by the various scholars at their own expense, free of charge.

When the necessary formal business, the election of Vice-Presidents and Council, had been concluded, and the Report and Balance Sheet passed, all which was done with admirable swiftness, Sir Lewis Dibdin made his short speech and asked the Bishop of Truro, Dr. Frere, to give an address on Episcopal Registers. This address was a *tour de force*. The subject itself is complicated and difficult and covers a wide field; it is a subject which appeals to the expert, and some considerable experts were in the audience, and to speak upon it at all adequately in public is no light thing. But the Bishop of Truro, provided apparently with only a postcard of notes, proceeded, without hesitating for a word or repeating a phrase, to deliver a lecture of extraordinary value in a manner so light and easy as to be almost conversational. Unhappily no reporter appears to have been present, and the present writer took no notes, so that a mere outline remains in memory, but even the outline is sufficiently instructive. Having described the great series of Papal *Regesta* which began with Siricius in the latter half of the fourth century, and having eulogized the work of their modern editors, the Bishop proceeded to the Episcopal registers of England. He outlined a method, which he had for a time pursued for the Province of York, by which matter which would have formed material for the Registers of Saxon and Norman Bishops might be recovered, and then he dealt with English Registers as they exist from the thirteenth century onwards. There were, he suggested, four main methods of

treating them, which he named the longitudinal, the latitudinal (not to be confused with "latitudinarian," he explained), the personal, and the topical. All were profoundly interesting. The longitudinal, which meant pursuing the story from the beginning of the Register to the end of the series, in the diocese, gave a varied picture of the changes which had passed over the Church, and the differing problems of each century; the gititudinal method, by which you took a series of Registers—say, for a laven century or less—and compared diocese with diocese, was also fruitful in result.

The personal method, taking the Register of a given bishop and deducing his character from it, was most interesting; it was the method pursued in its most successful form by the present Bishop of Worcester; while the topical method the speaker himself had followed in taking a particular subject—*e.g.*, that of Edwardian and Marian ordinations—and observing the procedure followed in various dioceses. Some held that Episcopal Registers ceased to be interesting after the breach with Rome in the sixteenth century; the Bishop disagreed. The Registers were interesting and valuable up to the early part of the seventeenth century, only after that did they become conventional. With delightful humour the Bishop speculated as to whether he ought to submit to the decadence of interest which had fallen on Episcopal Registers since that day, and incorporate in his own Register matters now treated as secret and confidential. He suggested that for the sake of the historian five hundred years hence such secret archives should be sealed up and committed to the Bodleian and British Museum Libraries, to be opened only after some such period.

Such is a dry and fragmentary outline of a very remarkable hour, for precisely at 6 p.m. (the proceedings began at 5 p.m.) the Bishop ended, all too soon for his audience. It was a remarkable experience, to see this English diocesan, in black serge cassock and leather belt, giving a brilliant lecture to a learned audience and keeping their interest tense throughout with no array of tomes or of MS., but to all appearance as simply and naturally as if he were discussing the weather at afternoon tea. Professor T. F. Tout, in a witty speech, thanked the Bishop of Truro, and did justice to the learning of the lecture, as did the eminent Chairman of the meeting, who, with the modesty of the true scholar, insisted on his own ignorance. The room was crowded to hear the Bishop of Truro, among those present being the Rev. Dr. Jenkins, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at King's College; and Professor A. C. Little, the eminent historian of the Franciscans in England; and Miss Rose Graham, the Hon. Sec. of the Society, and herself a distinguished medieval historian. It is a pity the proceedings could not have been broadcasted, for it is something of a scandal, not to say a national reproach, that the wealth of material for English history, which lies buried in our unique series of Episcopal Registers, should be dependent for its publication on a small society with a meagre income of less than £300 a year. The Register of Archbishop Parker, which has been transcribed and edited by the Bishop of Truro himself, is awaiting publication by the Society for lack of funds. If the general public, or even the general Church public, could but have its imagination touched by the glamour of the romance that at present lies buried in English diocesan Registries, the unearthing of the treasure would be far more rapid than it is. But at present only a few English diocesan bishops, and still fewer Deans, to say nothing of Archdeacons and Canons and the lesser clergy and the lay public, support the Canterbury and York Society.

S. L. Ollard.

REVIEW

SIR WILLIAM ROBERTSON NICOLL.

William Robertson Nicoll: Life and Letters. By T. H. Darlow. Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Darlow's biography of the friend whom he had known intimately for nearly half a lifetime has already been warmly praised as one of the most entertaining books of the present season. There is little wonder; William Robertson Nicoll was an excellent subject. Those who had the privilege of meeting him were soon aware that they met a very remarkable man, one who had seen and saw life from many angles. Nicoll's very personality aroused wonder. Physically, he was almost an atomy of a man, so frail in appearance that labour of any sort seemed impossible to think of in connection with him; the proper place for him was surely a bath-chair in a sheltered corner. Then you remembered that this delicate, thread-paper bit of humanity turned out books by the dozen, articles by the hundred, edited papers, magazines, reviews; was a force to be reckoned with in politics, theological controversy, and what not; was sought after by Prime Ministers, had his opinion asked on State and even on military affairs; and was altogether, in his way, as big a figure in his time as Samuel Johnson in his, and you began to reflect upon the undoubted fact that mind is a vastly more potent thing than matter.

Nicoll was what Scots call a son of the manse. His father was a Free Church minister who never had an income of more than £200 a year, but possessed such a passion for reading and for books that he left behind him 17,000 volumes, amongst which were 100 different editions of the Greek Testament. Accordingly, Nicoll was brought up in an atmosphere of books; he became a great bookman himself, and "to the end of his days," says his biographer, "he entered a library as a jockey enters a stable." Probably he was pretty well read in a discursive way when, at the age of fifteen, he left Aberdeen Grammar School for Aberdeen University. How he lived there he himself has told: "I had an attic of my own, serving the purpose of sitting-room and bedroom, for four shillings a week. My bill for food amounted to another four shillings, and it was expected that all my expenses of every kind should be covered by two shillings more, and this was done. My bursary of £11 a year paid the fees, and left a little over." He graduated M.A. in his nineteenth year, and proceeded to the Free Church Divinity Hall at Aberdeen, whence, after a four years' course of

study, he was ordained to the pastorate of the Free Church at Dufftown. He spent three years there, and then went to the Free Church at Kelso. He was now beginning to write and to become known as a writer, and in 1884 he was appointed editor of the *Expositor*. A serious illness in the autumn of 1885 changed the whole course of his life; after a period of rest on the Continent he resigned his ministry, and, settling in London in the following year, began his connection with the firm of Hodder and Stoughton, and with them founded the *British Weekly*, the *Bookman*, and the *Woman at Home*. Henceforth Nicoll's life as author, editor, literary adviser, critic, commentator on public affairs, and general authority on book matters was a very full one. Despite his always delicate health and fragile appearance, he was a giant of industry, and he not only worked himself, but dug out the work of others. He discovered talent; he secured a public for talent; he took a particular interest in seeing that talent obtained its reward. He was honoured himself in the end of his days; he received the honour of knighthood in 1909; his own University conferred the degree of LL.D. upon him in 1922; in 1921 he was invested as Companion of Honour. And it is not the least of his honours that he worked to the very end.

Mr. Darlow remarks of Nicoll that outsiders were often tempted to imagine him "like Cerberus, three gentlemen at once." Certainly he did three men's work. There is at the end of this volume a Bibliography. It makes curious reading. Nicoll's name as author appears, between 1874 and 1924, on no fewer than sixty-two title-pages. But his work as author was as nothing to his labours as editor and compiler. He edited the *Household Library of Exposition*, having as principal contributors such men as Dr. Maclaren, Principal Marshall Lang, Principal Marcus Dods, and Professor Bruce. Then there was the *Contemporary Pulpit* and the *Contemporary Pulpit Library*. He projected and edited ten volumes of the *Foreign Biblical Library*, with works by Delitzsch, Rothe, Weiss, Kurtz, and Schleiermacher. Then followed fourteen volumes of the *Theological Educator*, all written by specialists, and after that what one may call his *magnum opus* in the editorial way, the *Expositor's Bible*, of which he put out eight series of six volumes each between 1887 and 1896. Between 1897 and 1911 he edited five volumes of the *Expositor's Greek Testament;* in 1888 he began the *Clerical Library*, and got out twelve volumes of it; in 1910-11 he published two large quarto volumes of the *Expositor's Dictionary of Texts*. Nine volumes of a series of *Literary Lives* were edited and supervised by him. And all this time he was editing the *British Weekly*, a journal of immense

power and circulation; and the *Bookman*, which he founded and made one of the most important literary journals of the day; and, in addition, was pouring forth ceaselessly, under his pseudonyms *Claudius Clear* and *A Man of Kent*, a never-ceasing stream of informing, clever, and never slipshod comment on books, men, and things.

Mr. Darlow is right in saying that it is no easy task to produce a life-like and coherent portrait of William Robertson Nicoll. "His brilliant personality," he remarks, "seemed perplexing by reason of its strange combination of gifts. People were baffled by a man in whom such contrasted faculties could unite. Here was a powerful editor, continually hampered by frail health; a stalwart politician, steeped in literature; a deeply-read theologian, who outstripped his rivals in business; a writer of tireless industry, whose talk overflowed with humour; a mystic, who had mastered the whole craft of journalism; a Catholic-minded humanist, who kept his fervid Puritan faith." Mr. Darlow has a chapter on Nicoll as a mystic which is worth unusual attention. But the whole of his book is delightful reading, as the faithful picture of a man who, without being eccentric, was a good deal of a puzzle. He had curious notions; one was a hatred of fresh air, which, he said, was "an invention of the foul fiend." He kept a fire blazing in his study all the year round. Like his father, he was a born collector of books, and had accumulated some 30,000 volumes. "No visitor to that wonderful chamber," says Mr. Darlow, "will forget its long vista of crowded book-cases projecting on to a floor which also was piled with heaps of books, magazines, and newspapers. Between these a narrow, winding rivulet-track of rugs led up to the arm-chair of the owner, dimly seen amid a cloud of tobacco by the fire. You had the uncanny sense of a vampire brain crouching in its corner, having sucked the life-blood of innumerable books and absorbed half the souls of their authors. For Nicoll's memory was preternatural. He knew every scattered volume, and where to lay hands on it, and almost the page on which a needed quotation lurked. Thus, for a quarter of a century he read and wrote and brooded and dictated. He could say with Montaigne, *Je passe là et la plus part des jours de ma vie, et la plus part des heures du jour . . . c'est là mon siège.*"

J. S. Fletcher.

NOTICES

ST. AUGUSTINE ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER. By W. J. Sparrow Simpson, D.D. S.P.C.K. 5s.

This is the latest volume of the excellent series of translations of Greek and Latin documents for which we are indebted to S.P.C.K. It gives us in a readable English form what is perhaps the most interesting and valuable of St. Augustine's anti-Pelagian works. This short treatise has profoundly influenced Christian thought on the doctrine of Divine Grace. It is written with deep insight into moral problems, the result of his own spiritual experience, and exhibits "Augustine at his very best" as a commentator on St. Paul and a man of sound judgment and wide sympathy. Hence it is not only a successful refutation of the Pelagian doctrine that men can attain righteousness without the Grace of God, but also it is of the greatest value in pointing the way towards the solution of problems which face us to-day.

The *de Spiritu et Carne* is addressed to the Tribune Marcellinus († A.D. 413), who had found difficulty in a statement in the *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione* to the effect that a sinless man might exist, although no sinless man, save only our Lord, had ever lived or was likely to live. Augustine answers that many things, such, *e.g.*, as the passage of a camel through a needle's eye, are possible with God, but yet do not happen. Starting from this, he goes on to his main subject—the necessity of Divine Grace if man is to attain to anything like perfection. His text is the passage in 2 Cor. iii. 6 (*τὸ γράμμα ἀποκτείνει, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωοποιεῖ*), which Origen (and Augustine in his early days) had interpreted as denoting the difference between the literal and the "spiritual" meaning of Scripture, but which is here rightly explained as referring to the contrast between the Mosiac law as a whole and Christianity. The former commands, but gives men no power to obey (Rom. vii.); the latter gives grace and strength to fulfil the law of God. The Grace of God, then, is a necessity. Without it we cannot be justified. The teaching of Pelagius makes man, not God, the author of his justification. And one result of such teaching is to do away with gratitude to God which Catholics express, *e.g.*, in the Eucharist (*in verissimo et singulari sacrificio*). In the latter part of his work, Augustine discusses certain questions in regard to the relation of grace to (1) Pagan virtues, (2) Redemption, (3) Free-will, (4) Faith. Faith and Freewill, he says, are God's gifts, but in order that we may show forth that Faith which works by Love, our wills must co-operate with God. God does not coerce, but only persuades. Augustine will not discuss the problem why grace is effective in some cases, but not in all. To answer this his readers must seek more learned teachers (*doctiores*); only let them avoid more self-confident ones (*præsumptiores*). The book ends with a brief summary of its main contentions.

What has been said may perhaps send readers to the book itself. If so, they will be well repaid. It is an excellent introduction to the study of St. Augustine's psychology and his exegetical methods. Dr. Sparrow Simpson has prefixed to his translation a valuable foreword and an analysis, so far as analysis is possible in the case of a treatise in which topics tumble over one another and ideas "are begun, relinquished, and resumed elsewhere." The translation itself is clear and accurate, the

work of a scholar with a real love and appreciation of his author. One or two small criticisms may be made. Dr. Simpson has wisely broken up some of the longer sentences of the original. In one or two instances this method seems to obscure the argument—*e.g.*, on p. 41, line 12, when it would be better to remove the full stop after "God" and let the sentence run, "such as the passage of a camel through a needle's eye, as already mentioned," etc. On p. 38, line 27, insert "them" after "live." On p. 118, line 17, for "voluminousness" read "prolixity," as in Dr. P. Holmes's translation. An index of Scripture references would have added to the value of the book.

H. W. Fulford.

Love and the Messianic Age (Episcopal Hebrew Christian Church Publications). Rev. Paul P. Levertoff, M.Litt.

This beautiful little book, the first, it would seem, of a series entitled "Studies in Jewish and Christian Piety," consists of a series of lectures on the mystical element in the traditional Judaism of the school of the Pharisees, based on Hebrew writings which have never been translated. The author tells us that these writings are very difficult, and that they "almost defy translation"—all the more credit is due to him for the extreme simplicity of the style in which he extracts their teaching for English readers. The central idea of these lectures is Love, which is treated in its relation to the different parts of the religious life of the Jew: knowledge of God, the Law, fear, joy, prayer, and repentance. The Pharisaic writers were evidently mystics, whose aim, like that of all mystics, was the direct Vision of God and complete union with Him. This vision, however, was only granted to Moses, and was not to be expected by anyone else until the Age of the Messiah, compared with which the present age is as a child in its mother's womb to the same child after it is born. The conception of "the ideal man laid up in Heaven" seems not to be purely Hebrew, but to be derived from Plato, perhaps through Philo; so also the doctrine of the Divine sparks hidden in the world, which the true servant of God must gather together, appears to have a Neoplatonic origin. The Law is treated mystically: he who loves God perfectly has no need to tread in the ways of the Law, for his soul is like a bird, flying always through the atmosphere of the spiritual world. The Shekinah, or visible Divine presence in the Holy of holies, is explained as the presence of God in each true Israelite, the Divine spark hidden in his soul. When the Messiah comes, and the sacrificial system is restored, these Divine sparks, which are hidden not only in men, but in animals and in all creation, will be released from their prison and united to God. The way for this restoration of all things is to be prepared by daily repentance. The parables used as illustrations remind us at times of St. Francis de Sales, but are more Oriental in tone. On p. 46 we find a close parallel to the parable of the Prodigal Son. The author points out that the difference between Jewish and Christian mystical devotion is the difference between expectation and realization. In the Epistles of St. Paul, and still more in the Fourth Gospel, which the author calls the most "Hasidic" writing in the New Testament, we find that all the features of the Messianic Age which these writers were expecting have already appeared. It would be interesting to work out this interpretation of the Fourth Gospel in connexion with Dr. Burney's theory that it was originally written in Aramaic, which Dr. Levertoff does not mention.

C. B. Moss.

PHILOSOPHY AND THE CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE. By Wilfrid Richmond. Basil Blackwell. 3s. 6d.

In these six lectures Canon Richmond deals with three difficulties felt by minds trained in modern philosophy in the acceptance of the Christian Faith:

(1) The demand for a restatement of the Creed.

(2) The difficulty of holding doctrines alleged to contradict one another.

(3) The difficulty of ascribing personality to God.

He begins by showing that the Christian experience described in the New Testament is threefold—the Divine indwelling (which is mutual), the Divine sacrifice, the Divine Fatherhood—and that this threefold experience is still characteristic of Christianity in all its diverse forms. Next he draws a distinction between the view that the history of Christian doctrine and experience is merely a branch of psychology—a view which he shows to be derived from the sceptical metaphysic of Hume—and the view that knowledge of God is the knowledge of an unchanging Reality. The former view regards experience simply as a succession of phases of the consciousness; and those who hold it naturally object to the use of language (as in the Creeds) which does not represent the present phase of their consciousness. But the latter view treats religious experience as man's relation with eternal and unchanging Reality, and holds that the dogmatic statements in the Creeds represent the permanent elements in human experience, the witness of the Holy Spirit dwelling continuously in man. The author then shows that the paradoxical character of Christian Theology (God is Three and yet One, Transcendent and yet Immanent, etc.) extends to the highest levels of human experience; thus human love involves union and yet distinctness. In these cases the contradictory terms are also complementary and essential to one another.

The difficulty of conceiving Divine Personality is treated in the same way. Personality involves limitation, and how can we ascribe limitation to God? But without limitation there could be no distinctiveness, and without distinctiveness no fellowship; without fellowship personality is impossible. Fellowship within the Divine Nature is provided by the doctrine of the Trinity. "The identification of the Fellowship of Love with the Supreme Reality of the world depends on the presence in God of personality as the condition of fellowship."

In spite of the difficulty of his subject, Canon Richmond's style is remarkably clear, and each lecture is admirably summed up at its close. This little book should be valuable to those who are troubled by these metaphysical difficulties.

C. B. Moss.

THE ONE BODY AND THE ONE SPIRIT: A STUDY IN THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH. By T. A. Lacey, M.A. James Clarke and Co. 6s.

Canon Lacey writes with characteristic subtlety, and when he has passed his powerful magnifying-glass over the confused map of a controversial position he always helps to a clearer impression of the terrain. The implications of the conception of the Church as the Body of Christ are the scope of his enquiry. To St. Paul it is far more than a metaphor. The Church *is* Christ's Body, and therefore *has* His Spirit. It is not Christ Himself, for Christ is God, but it is the humanity of Christ. The author makes an extraordinarily sharp distinction between Christ's human Spirit,

immanent in the Church, and the "Holy Spirit of God," who was poured out on the Church at Pentecost but remains transcendent and bestows gifts on the Church *ab extra*. The conception of the Church as Christ's Body depends entirely on the former, not at all on the latter. Canon Lacey seems to acknowledge that the distinction is not as clear in St. Paul's mind as it is in his own, and, indeed, it does seem paradoxical to suggest that it is not the Pentecostal Spirit which makes the Church to be the Body of Christ.

The distinction has a bearing on the question of authentic ministry. For while, in the author's view, the ministry itself is the gift of the transcendent Spirit, the forms it has taken may be part of the natural differentiation of the Body of Christ evolved, and not imposed. The ministry was given at Pentecost and is normally transmitted through the channels which the mind of Christ in the Church has evolved. But in the case of St. Paul himself the ministry was given direct from Heaven, and we cannot say that this may not happen again. St. Paul's ministry was simply *recognized* by representative Apostles, and recognition is always the practical criterion of authenticity, the ultimate conditions of which are not revealed. If the Church is at variance, we can only go by the decisions of our own part of it. In this connexion he points out a fact which has not been widely noticed: that the Lambeth Conference of 1920, in declining to give recognition to Orders conferred by *episcopi vagi*, rejected the criterion of validity ordinarily accepted for many centuries by the Western Church. Canon Lacey holds that only apostasy separates from the unity of the Church—not schism, nor even heresy—and apostasy consists essentially in denying the Deity of Christ. It might perhaps have been made clearer that the author is in this matter departing from the general patristic view. He does profess uncertainty as to the status of a believer who *refuses* Baptism, but rather strangely questions the existence of any such. Surely this is precisely the position of the Society of Friends, for it is very unnatural (however tempting) to maintain that they have received Baptism "by desire." It is hardly necessary to say that this is a book which should be read by all who are interested in the problem of reunion.

K. D. Mackenzie.

Ante-Nicene Exegesis of the Gospels, Vol. I. By Harold Smith, D.D. S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d. net.

This is one of the valuable "Translations of Christian Literature" published by S.P.C.K. It is the work of a scholar—the fruit of wide reading and patient research. It collects and co-ordinates the early comments on the Gospels found in ante-Nicene writings. When completed —this is only Volume I.—it will be a very useful addition to our knowledge of patristics, and a real help to the N.T. student. It consists of two parts, an Introduction of 134 pages, and a translation, with some omissions, of the ante-Nicene commentaries on the Gospels, up to, and including, the testimony of St. John Baptist (John i. 19-34). This part will be continued in the next volume. In the Introduction Dr. Smith sketches the characteristics of the chief exegetes of the period. The Gnostics, though often fanciful, were sometimes sensible and attractive. The expositions of Irenæus, the great critic of the Gnostics, are, on the whole, sound. Origen is pre-eminently an exegete, though his exegesis is often fanciful. But he "not only laid the foundation, but, to a great

extent, built up the fabric of Biblical interpretation." The Latin Fathers, as we should expect, tend to be "practical and ecclesiastical." Dr. Smith draws out the difference between Origen, on the one hand, and Tertullian and Cyprian, on the other, by contrasting their commentaries on the Lord's Prayer (pp. 75 *ff.*). After a brief notice of Eusebius, "before all things an apologist" (Lightfoot), the author illustrates the character of ante-Nicene exegesis by collecting comments on four passages, two of which (Matt. xvi. 18, and Mark x. 2-12=Matt. xix. 3-9) are of great interest. On the first of these, the promise to St. Peter, there are great differences between the leading commentators; on the second all are agreed that our Lord allows divorce for adultery.

The translations, which form the second part of the book, enable the reader to appreciate the excellences, as well as the weaknesses, of ante-Nicene exegetes. No serious N.T. student can afford to ignore them.

H. W. Fulford.

The Early Church and the World. By C. J. Cadoux. T. and T. Clark. 21s.

This is a considerable and learned book on a subject that has been inadequately explored. At every turn the infant Church was up against some pagan custom or prejudice in its social life, its politics, its military customs, as well as in its religion. If a Christian was invited to dinner by a pagan neighbour, or asked to give his daughter in marriage, or go to a funeral, or let his son go into the army, difficulties were bound to arise. Nearly all domestic festivities centred round some pagan divinity. To renounce such celebrations as idolatrous was to renounce a great part of social life. To enter the army or to take civil office was to be involved more or less in official recognition of paganism. Moreover, the Games were taboo to the Christian, but everyone else went to the Games. They had the fascination for the ancient world of the football ground, the race-course, and the bull-fight, all rolled into one. Not to go was to run full tilt against all the feelings and prejudices of the time. This dead-weight of custom and prejudice must have been harder to contend with than the actual persecutions.

The author has, by a careful examination of the original documents, traced the development of Christian thought during the successive stages of the Church's history. To do so, he has divided his subject into periods and investigated the authorities in each period separately. Too often early Christian writers are lumped together as if there were no difference between the first and third centuries. Among the subjects investigated are the attitude of the Church to the State, to war, to questions of sex, to slavery, to property, to heathen learning and philosophy, to heathen religion and practices such as the gladiatorial shows.

It comes out clearly in these pages that the great difference between the pre-Constantine Church and the Church ever since is that, whereas to be a Christian before Constantine meant to profess a code of ethics distinct from that professed by the world, when Constantine established Christianity as the State religion the distinction gradually disappeared.

The author seems to be led away by prejudice when he suggests that the change was due to an increasing elaboration of ritual and doctrine. This is a most unwarranted assumption. Before Constantine, there was little to gain from the world and often everything to lose by professing

Christianity. Afterwards, it paid to be a Christian. And when, after the incursion of barbarians into the Empire, it became the custom for heathen tribes to accept Christianity *en masse*, we do not have to look very far for the assimilation of pagan and Christian ethics. It is rather surprising that notwithstanding all this, there was in the darkest times a remnant that remained faithful to the moral teaching of Christ.

C. P. S. CLARKE.

LUTHER AND THE REFORMATION. By James Mackinnon, D.D. Vol. I., Early Life and Religious Development to 1517. Longmans. 16s.

One of the great needs of which every student of the Reformation is conscious is an impartial Life of Luther. Luther bulks so large in the movement that the estimate of him which is formed affects one's whole outlook. The specialist who has time and energy enough to devote to vast literature of the subject, primary and secondary, may form his own conclusions; those who are not specialists in the period must depend upon the labours of others.

In the past few years much has been written upon Luther, and with different motives. Writers like Denifle and Grisar are so blinded by Roman Catholic prepossessions as to be incapable of giving an unprejudiced treatment* to the subject; Protestants, on the other hand, especially in Germany, are in the same condition through excessive hero-worship. Dr. Mackinnon, who has a wide knowledge of his subject and an intimate acquaintance with the numerous writings which have been published in Germany since the war, seems at last to be on the way to producing an impartial study of the Reformer—that is, if the rest of his great task runs along the lines laid down in this first volume.

One of the marks of recent Luther scholarship has been an increasing realization of the importance of the early years of Luther's life as the most creative period of his existence. It is to this period that the present volume is devoted, and in it Dr. Mackinnon has made abundant use of works like Scheel's *Martin Luther* and the various productions of Holl, none of which, so far as I am aware, has been yet translated into English.

I notice that Dr. Mackinnon makes a concession to popular opinion by speaking of Luther as a "monk," which, of course, he never was; but as most people still talk of King John *signing* Magna Charta, and the *divorce* of Henry VIII., perhaps one ought not to complain.

L. ELLIOTT BINNS.

ARNOLD THOMAS OF BRISTOL. By N. Micklem. Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.

Arnold Thomas was a well-known Congregational minister in Bristol. He succeeded his father at Highbury Church in 1874, and worked there for over forty years. He was Chairman of the Congregational Union in 1899. He retired from his ministry in 1923 and died the year after.

In this book Mr. Micklem gives us a short memoir and some addresses. Probably Churchmen will be most interested in the chapter on Christian Unity in the memoir and the address on the Witness of Congregationalism delivered at Bristol Cathedral in 1922. Arnold Thomas had a great love

* There are, however, Roman Catholic writers such as Kiefl and Merkle who are fair-minded, and who even expose the misrepresentations of their co-religionists.

for the Church of England, and most earnestly desired the drawing together of it and the Free Churches if it could be in truth as well as in love.

This book will be of interest to any who wish to know how a cultured and devout Nonconformist approaches the question of Reunion. Arnold Thomas was, as the Bishop of Bristol said at his funeral, "an understanding friend" to the Church.

M. PATERSON.

BOOK NOTES

Lectures in Hyde Park. Why we Believe in God. By C. F. Rogers. S.P.C.K. 2s.

In four lectures the author restates, clearly and forcibly, the First-Cause Argument, the Arguments from Order and Design, the Moral Argument, and the Argument from Revelation and History. These "proofs" are as valuable to-day as ever they were, and it is good that they should have been so admirably modernized, recently by Mr. J. H. Beibitz in *Belief, Faith, and Proof*, and now again, in his own most helpful way, by Professor Rogers. While it is a great mistake for preachers to be constantly endeavouring to prove to Christian congregations the existence of God, there is no doubt that faith is strengthened by the occasional use of such reassuring argument as is found in this book; and those who wish to be thorough and effective in such work will do well to master its contents.

A School Edition of the Old Testament. Compiled by Dorothy Batho and A. Lilian Hyde. Vol. II. S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d.

This volume covers the period from the establishment of the monarchy to the fall of Jerusalem, and includes well-chosen and well-arranged selections, in the Revised Version, from the books of the prophets, Lamentations and Ecclesiasticus, as well as from the historical books, together with a sufficient number of notes explanatory of difficult words and phrases, and frequent brief editorial comments. For the period of the divided kingdoms the scriptural record is presented in parallel columns. The book may be strongly recommended as a valuable aid to the intelligent teaching of the Bible in schools. Its only fault is that it lacks a good map.

Following the Way. Devotional Studies in Mystical Religion. By the author of *The Way*. The St. Christopher Press. 3s.

In this sequel to his much-valued first book the author treats of Self-Discipline, The Cross, Joy, and Prayer, writing again out of the fulness of his own devotional life and intimate knowledge of souls, with the help of a store of apt illustration and considerable fertility of mystical imagination. Of all the many true and striking sayings in the book, perhaps the truest is this: "I am of the opinion that the vast mass of those who go through daily life without prayer do so, not from lack of belief, but because they could not face this preliminary effort of concentration."

The Vigil at the Cross. Arranged by F. J. Goodwin, D.D. The Macmillan Company. 4s. 6d.

A miscellaneous selection of prayers and meditations on the Seven Words is here provided, together with a suggested Order of Worship for a Three Hours' Service and notes on the conduct of such a service. No use is made of the litany form of prayer, and the claim repeatedly advanced for considerable periods of silence is unfortunately ignored.

The Character of Paul. By C. E. Jefferson. The Macmillan Company. 10s.

St. Paul is receiving a great deal of attention at present from makers of books. If anyone who desires to come to an intimate acquaintance with the man will give himself to the reading of this series of twenty-six studies, he will be delighted. All the many aspects of St. Paul's character are frankly and sympathetically treated; there is no parade of learning but a great deal of penetrating wisdom; and the whole book speaks of that admiration and love and reverence for its subject which alone justify a man in writing about so great a saint.

Progress and the Past. A Glance down the Ages. By G. F. Wates. Allen and Unwin. 5s.

In four books the author proposes to deal with "some of the essentials to the progress of mankind." This first instalment glances at the whole course of man's mental, moral, and spiritual history in a little more than 150 pages, proceeding from primitive man to modern Japan in a superficial survey which is apparently intended to serve as a basis for future discussion of the means by which progress is to be quickened and the Golden Age speedily introduced.

O. H.

The Mystery of the Incarnation. By Ed. Hugon, O.P. Faith Press. 5s. This is a translation of a French theological treatise, and can be recommended to scholars with a good knowledge of theological terminology, but ignorant of any language but their own, who can use a book written from the scholastic standpoint. Others will be repelled by the frequent sentences like the following: "Thus the hypostatic supernatural is the substantial supernatural, and this is the supreme term of all Divine communications" (p. 140); or this: "All these are an alms from the Incarnation, an overflowing of the plenitude" (p. 167). *Grace and Personality.* By John Oman. Cambridge University Press. 9s. This profound and beautiful book, we are very glad to see, has now reached its third edition. *A Study of the New Testament.* By D. B. Walker. S.C.M. 2s. 6d. An introduction to the New Testament on the usual lines, by a lecturer for the Church Tutorial Classes. *The Galatians.* By A. W. F. Blunt, B.D. Oxford Press. 3s. 6d. The opening volume in the Clarendon Bible series, on the Acts, by Canon Blunt, was warmly greeted in THEOLOGY. The next to appear is edited by the same scholar. To write a short but adequate Commentary on this Epistle is a difficult, if delightful, task. Canon Blunt has succeeded even better than with the Acts. He puts the Epistle first in the Pauline collection, identifying the visit to Jerusalem in chapter ii. with the visit mentioned in Acts xi. Lightfoot's interpretation, which may be called traditional, by which the Galatians' visit is that of Acts xv. and the Epistle is closely associated with those to Corinth and Rome is rejected after a careful and very clear discussion. The problem is probably insoluble. The reviewer is inclined to say of various things which Canon Blunt deems impossible: Why should they not have happened? The publishers have shown great ingenuity in finding illustrations for a book of this kind.

W. K. L. C.

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